

THE FUSION OF STYLISTIC ELEMENTS
IN VERGIL'S GEORGICS

BY
META GLASS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, IN THE
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

NEW YORK
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INTRODUCTION

Inasmuch as the artistic beauty of Vergil's poetry has been acknowledged and enlarged upon throughout the ages, there have naturally been many attempts to reach the source of this perfection, or at least to travel along the well-marked paths in the poems themselves that give the seeker some glimpses of the phases of Vergil's fancy, the sensitiveness of his perceptions of beauty in form and color and sound, and his unique ability to pass on these perceptions to others by use of the various means of poetic expression. In the study of any poet who so avowedly followed a model as did Vergil, it is in greatest part upon these manifestations of self, the workings of mind and of imagination, that a knowledge of that poet depends. Under these conditions Vergil's workmanship and what it reveals become all the more important.¹

No less in the other two works than in the *Georgics* did Vergil have a pattern, but for his own individuality in developing that pattern the *Georgics* are most fruitful. The *Eclogues* were a more youthful work, in a style to a great extent abandoned later, while the *Georgics* have sufficient of the earlier and likewise of the later development to represent his maturer powers before they had shed any of their possibilities. The *Aeneid* was never finished, but after seven years of writing and rewriting the poet was content to let the *Georgics* go from his hand.² What is to be found therein must, therefore, have had his full sanction, must have approached his ideal as nearly as an author's work ever does approach his ideal, and the features of workmanship traced here we have a right to deem those that he felt most fully expressed him.

¹ T. H. Wright, *Style*, speaks of style as an involuntary revelation of self.

² Donatus, *Vita Vergili*, Chapters 22, 25.

We may believe, too, that the poet was more at home in his material in this poem than in either of the others. The tone of seriousness that the Georgics have as compared with the Eclogues was surely more in accordance with the philosophical temperament of the poet who was fully conscious of the *lacrimae rerum*, and in portraying Italy as a veritable *biferi rosaria Paesti* he found his material more congenial than he later found the wars and bloodshed that moulded the character of Aeneas, and formed the prelude to the glories of Rome. In the Georgics he spoke whereof he knew from daily sight and hearing, or from the volumes of his predecessors which he had made his own.

Because the poem is classed as didactic literature, which gained an unwonted prominence in Alexandrian times, and because of Vergil's use of Hesiod,³ of Aratus, of Eratosthenes, and of Nicander,⁴ because of his former allegiance to Theocritus and the general tendency of much of Roman literature to submit to Alexandrian influence, the extent to which Vergil came under this influence, and the use, in so far as his artistic expression is concerned, which he made of the knowledge gained from this source are important points in any attempt to estimate the poet in his art.

It is the purpose of this study to examine the Georgics from this point of view, to investigate Vergil's use of astronomical, geographical and literary allusions, his elaborations of word-order, and his use of euphonic embellishments, and to discover what glimpses may be gained of the personal equation that colored his perception and imagination and, consequently, his artistic expression.

³ Servius on the Georgics, vol. 3, p. 128.

⁴ For the sources in general, cf. Karl Brandt, *De auctoribus quos in componendis Georgicon libris adumbravit Vergilius*.

THE FUSION OF STYLISTIC ELEMENTS IN VERGIL'S GEORGICS

I

ASTRONOMICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL AND LITERARY REFERENCES

In any study of elaboration of style among the Romans, the question of Greek influence, whether coming direct from the classical period, or exerted through Alexandrian scholars and writers, naturally thrusts itself to the fore. Certain traits do appear in Latin, in poetry rather than in prose, the counterparts of which are not to be found to any extent in classical Greek, and the first inference is that the Alexandrians are responsible for them. Aside from the genius of the two languages, the rhetorical embellishments found in Cicero, in Livy, in Seneca do not differ in aim, nor so very much in means, from those used by Thucydides and the Greek orators. But the poetry of Catullus, of Vergil, of Horace, and even more that of the writers of elegy shows devices not found in the lyric poets of Greece, nor to the same extent in the dramatists, though Euripides shows the beginning of the use of many of the later favorite devices for securing stylistic effect.

When one speaks of Alexandrianism, probably the first thought which rises in the mind is that of erudition, and in looking for traits of Alexandrian influence in Latin literature one most readily notes references to geography, astronomy and literature in general, more or less familiar supposedly to the author's public, as examples of this influence. When Catullus introduces into so personal a song as his seventh poem, where he pleads that Lesbia's kisses shall be as many as

the sands of the desert or the stars of the firmament, the restriction that the sands to be counted are those of the Libyan desert around Cyrene where silphium grows, between the oracle of sun-baked Jupiter Ammon and the sacred tomb of Battus of old, he is displaying learning pure and simple, and is in so far a follower of the Alexandrian school.

So large a word as *laserpiciferis* may make the sands seem more than those of an ordinary desert, and they are indeed sands of distinguished company, but to the sincerity of feeling that the second simile gives such elaboration is undoubtedly hostile. If Catullus desired the almost comic touch which the verses have for a modern reader, he has succeeded most skillfully in attaining it, but the weight of learning and sound in them is all the slight poem could sustain. Such a use as this of geographical knowledge is far to seek in classical Greek poetry. The local setting of a myth or of an actual occurrence is common enough, though not often in a form at all elaborate. Even in the passages grouping rather imposing geographical names that may be quoted from the Agamemnon (281 ff.), where the course of the fire signals that bring the news of Agamemnon's approach is traced, and from the Prometheus, where the hero foretells her wanderings to Io, a fellow sufferer from the injustice of Zeus (705 ff.), the references are of the sort that would be classed as occasioned by the narrative. The mountain peaks named in the Agamemnon passage were sufficiently familiar to Aeschylus' public (all were in countries with which Athens had had intercourse for years) to give vividness rather than vagueness to the picture, and so they show no striving for the impressiveness which the mention of more distant and less known regions would effect. In the Prometheus Io's wanderings are to be largely around the region in which Prometheus is bound, involving places quite closely akin to the setting of the drama, but sufficiently vague in Aeschylus' own mind to make the course almost impossible

for one to follow. Some stylistic effect is gained by each of these passages, but there is lacking in them the sense of effort and the flavor of learning that mark many such references in Latin poetry.⁵

In astronomical references the Alexandrian influence is even more pronounced, for the greater study devoted to the subject in these times yielded the works of Eratosthenes and Aratus, and thus, by uniting the science quite definitely with poetry, made it available for the less technical poets.⁶ The popularity of Aratus among the Romans before Vergil wrote is attested by Cicero's translation of his *Φαινόμενα*, and his continuance in favor is proved by the paraphrase of Germanicus later. Vergil's own use of him⁷ is evidenced in the first verse of the Georgics, where he purposes to sing *quo sidere terram vertere*,⁸ and only a few verses farther on astronomical science is drawn upon in the more elaborate description of the constellations (I. 32-4) among which the deified Caesar is to have a place. So, again, after the golden age, when man

⁵ In the *Medea* of Euripides, where the course of the *Argo* might entail such references, they are quite closely connected with the story and are not elaborate. There is mention of Chalcis, the Symplegades, Corinth, Athens and the Cephissus. In the *Iphigenia in Tauris* the Symplegades, Taurica, Argos, Greece, Troy and Aulis are the places named. Even in Pindar the place designated is the home of the hero, or the scene of some definite exploit described in the myth. The fourth Pythian, which deals with the story of the *Argo*, does not mention the course in detail, but says "and they came to Phasis" (375), and on the return voyage (446-7) "they met the streams of Ocean, the Red Sea and the race of Lemnian women."

⁶ Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, pp. 242-51.

⁷ Both the *Φαινόμενα* and the *Διοσημεῖα* give matter used by Vergil in Book I of the *Georgics*. The general knowledge of the constellations and their order must have come from the *Φαινόμενα*, while the weather signs of I. 351-463 follow much of the *Διοσημεῖα*.

⁸ *Φαινόμενα* 10 ff.

Αὐτὸς γὰρ τάδε σήματ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξεν
 ἄστρον διακρίνας ἐσκέψατο δ' εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
 ἄστέρας, οἳ κε μάλιστα τετυγμένα σημαίνουιν
 Ἀνδράσιν, ὥρῳ δ' ἔμπεδα πάντα φύωνται.

was with difficulty forging his way in the world, the sailor had to give name and number to the stars (I. 138),

Pleiadas, Hyadas, claramque Lycaonis Arcton.

With verse 204 comes the more definite division of the seasons by the position of constellations, where Arcturus and the Haedi and Anguis, Libra, the Pleiades, and the Crown and Boötes all serve as signs for different phases of the farmer's activity. Thus the zones are marked out,⁹ and the sun's path across the zodiac and the moon, too, indicate days to be chosen or shunned for varying duties. Again, after the description of the spring storm, Vergil returns to the planets (I. 336-7), pauses to prescribe the worship of Ceres in the fields, and then pursues further the signs the Father has willed the moon to give of wind and rain and fair weather. With this description are mingled the prophecies of birds and beasts, and the climax is reached with the sun (*solem certissima signa sequuntur*, I. 439) whose pity for Rome at Caesar's death made him hide his shining face in murky darkness. A comparison of the truly poetic and beautiful way in which Vergil handles the science that he borrows with the technical and unimaginative work of Aratus¹⁰ gives but another instance of his fine perception of the poetic possibilities of his material, his readiness to use his learning always, but never to display it to the detriment of artistic harmony.

Let us note now to what extent the Latin writers before Vergil advised the farmer to depend on knowledge of the heavens. As one would expect, Cato gives no such guide. He designates his seasons by *primo vere*,¹¹ *per sementim*,¹² *per ver*,¹² once by *piro florente*,¹³ as also by *cum uva floret*,¹⁴ *per*

⁹ Eratosthenes is the source of the description of the zones and the path of the sun. Compare K. Brandt, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

¹⁰ Couat, *La poésie alexandrine*, pp. 445 ff.

¹¹ De Agri Cultura, 50.

¹² *Ib.* 61.

¹³ *Ib.* 121.

¹⁴ *Ib.* 41, 161.

solstitium,¹⁴ *per vindemiam*,¹⁴ and declares: "*ficos, oleas, mala, pira, vites inseri oportet luna silenti post meridiem sine vento austro*."¹⁵ There is not a single star to guide in the *De Agri Cultura*. Varro shows the man of learning in his designations. He too uses *piro florente* (I. 37.5) to date a season, but his real divisions are much more scientific. Scrofa, his mouthpiece, notes the four seasons according to the position of the sun; yet this is not sufficient, and the year is divided into eight intervals designated thus: "a favonio ad aequinoctium vernum, hinc ad vergiliarum exortum, ab hoc ad solstitium, inde ad caniculae signum, dein ad aequinoctium autumnale, exin ad vergiliarum occasum, ab hoc ad brumam, inde ad favonium."¹⁶ The proper activities for each division are set forth in order, and not content with this, Varro adds the divisions of the month into waxing and waning moon, and specifies things proper to one phase or another. In Vergil's guidance of the farmer first by the rising and setting of the constellations, then by the moon, and again by the sun, one is reminded of Varro's treatment, but the poet has said nothing of eight divisions, nor does he even run the risk of dryness by uniform designations of the time-divisions he does make.

In the other three books of the *Georgics* astronomy plays no part at all, yet there is a similar enriching but restrained use of geographical and literary allusions with a kindred artistic effect. The purposes served by localizing epithets may roughly be classed as four: (1) to state a fact the mention of which is occasioned by the narrative, (2) to designate a deity by the place of birth or worship, (3) to define a common object by the place of its origin or excellence, (4) to make specific some abstract idea. Instances of the first usage should not be classed as means to a stylistic effect, except

¹⁵ *Ib.* 40. 1.

¹⁶ *De Re Rustica*, I. 28.

in so far as an author shows a fondness for choosing his subject to afford an opportunity for their use. Despite the instance of Alexandrianism cited above (page 2) from Catullus, and his more happy use in the eleventh poem of far-off India beaten by the eastern wave, the Hyrcanians, Arabians, Parthians and Scythians, the region of the seven-mouthed Nile, the land across the Alps beside the Rhine and off to Britain's farthest edge to designate the distances to which the affection of his comrades would bid them follow him, Catullus' geographical allusions are oftener occasioned by his narrative than deliberately sought. The choice of subject matter in poems sixty-four and sixty-six is largely responsible for the definite places mentioned, though even in these a more general notion is made specific by this means.¹⁷ To references occasioned by the narrative belong the places named in the fourth poem, though, of course, there is some choice of what will be mentioned and what passed by. The references to Spain in the poems touching Veranius and Fabullus (9. 6; 12. 14) and those to Bithynia just after his return from that province are of this direct character (10. 7; 31. 5; 46. 4, 5, 6).¹⁸

The use of names of places to designate the divinity who is worshiped there occurs with similar frequency in Catullus and the Georgics (some ten times in Catullus and twelve times in the Georgics), but it is a greater favorite apparently with Horace, who in Book I of the Odes so designates the gods some sixteen times. The place-names so used vary little in their probable familiarity to the public; in general they are fairly well-known, and, though there is inherent in them the power of a vivid picture to one who has seen the place, their use is so frequent throughout literature, Greek as well as Roman, that they tend to become colorless synonyms for the deity's name. To Catullus Hymen is a dweller on Mount Helicon

¹⁷ Catullus, 64. 35-7, 75, 105, 156, 178.

¹⁸ Compare also Catullus, 29. 3, 4, 18, 19, 20; 34. 7; 35. 3, 4; 63. 2, 70, 91; 64. 5, 52, 74, 121, 172; 66. 12, 36.

because he is the son of a Muse (61. 1), for which reason also he is bidden to leave the Aonian caves of the Thespian cliff (61. 27-8); Venus is *colens Idalium* (61. 17). The deified Arsinoë is Zephyritis because her temple was on the promontory of Zephyrion (66. 57); Trivia when not seen in the sky is on Mount Latmos with Endymion, to whom there was a sanctuary there.¹⁹ So in 36. 11-17 Venus unnamed is identified by seven places of worship before she is called on to mark the vow as paid:

Nunc o caeruleo creata ponto
 quae sanctum Idalium Vriosque apertos,
 quaeque Ancona, Cnidumque harundinosam
 colis, quaeque Amathunta, quaeque Golgos,
 quaeque Durrachium Hadriae tabernam,
 acceptum face redditumque votum,
 si non inlepidum neque invenustum est.

In Horace Venus is *diva potens Cypri* (I. 3. 1), *Cytherea* (I. 4. 5); Clio's name *iocosa imago* is to reproduce

aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris
 aut super Pindo gelidove in Haemo (I. 12. 5-6);

Cybele is Dindymene (I. 16. 5); Dionysus, son of Semele of Thebes (I. 19. 2); Diana joys in the groves of Algidus or Erymanthus or Cragos (I. 21. 6, 7, 8). Again, Venus is *regina Cnidi Paphique* (I. 30. 1), and Fortuna, *diva gratum quae regis Antium* (I. 35. 1).

In the Georgics Pan is the only deity in the opening invocation so localized: reference is made to his haunts on Lycaeus, at Tegea, or on Maenala (I. 16, 17, 18), while elsewhere even the planet Mercury is called Cyllenius (I. 337), and later the Indigites, Romulus and Vesta are given a home at Rome by the Tiber (I. 499). Jove is the Dictaeon king (II. 536). The Muses the poet will bring from their Aonian mount (III. 11); the master of Cyllarus is Pollux of Amyclae (III. 89); the love of Parnassus of the Muses leads Vergil in their worship up its

¹⁹ Paus. V. 1. 5.

steeps and down the gently sloping path to Castalia (III. 291 ff.). The guardian of the meadow for the bees is to be Priapus from the Hellespont (IV. 111); Jove is the king in the Dictaeon cave (IV. 152), and Aristaeus' father is Thymbraeus Apollo (IV. 323).

Both Vergil and Horace show a great fondness for identifying objects with the place of their origin and for making general ideas specific by the names of certain localities. Sellar²⁰ draws a contrast between Horace and Propertius along this line: "Though Horace, for the form of his art, for something of his thought and much of his diction, goes back to Homer and the Greek lyric and tragic poets, yet in his use of Greek mythology as a kind of storehouse of romantic adventure, and in his numerous geographical allusions, we see that he is yielding to tastes formed and fostered by Alexandrian learning. But if we compare Horace in these respects with so thorough an Alexandrian as Propertius, we find that it is the personages and tales of mythology familiar from Homer and Pindar and the Greek tragedians, not the obscurer beings and more artificial fancies of later creation, that live for us again in the Odes, and that his geographical allusions are not introduced as so much dead learning, but give new life to his subject by names which stirred the imagination in his own day with the thought of distant lands, or wild and wandering tribes on the confines of the Empire, or seas, suggestive of the enterprise of the present time and the memories of a more adventurous past." Professor Shorey²¹ classes as one of the chief compensations that relieve Horace's plainness or parsimony of vocabulary and imagery the use of proper names charged with associations of mythology, history, literature and travel. "More than seven hundred distinct proper names or adjectives," he says, "are employed in the Odes, a sixth of

²⁰ Horace and the Elegiac Poets, p. 147.

²¹ Shorey and Laing, Horace, Odes and Epodes, Introd., pp. xxiv-xxv.

the total vocabulary. The fourth book of the Golden Treasury contains less than two hundred, and an equal amount of Greek lyric presents at the most three or four hundred, mostly persons known to the poet or gods directly invoked. In the learned rhetoric of Lucan and Statius mythological and geographical allusion passes into the conundrum. The tact of Horace selects just those names which will arouse pleasant associations in the mind of the average educated man, and which will adorn without overloading his style." Vergil in the Georgics uses some 602 proper names,²² a great many of which involve naming an object by the name of the deity in whose province it lies, as Ceres for grain, Bacchus for wine, and the winds by their specific names, Auster, Zephyrus, Boreas, etc.

In Book I of the Odes Horace in 40 cases²³ describes an object by means of the place where it is indigenous or well known. Vergil in the whole of the Georgics has only 82 cases.²⁴ Thus, cranes are *Strymoniae grues* (I. 120); lentils, *Pelusicae lentis* (I. 228); the sling is *Balearis fundae* (I. 309). *Dodona* comes to denote the acorn because of Jove's sacred oak groves there (I. 149). The laurel is *Parnasia laurus* (II. 18) though it is planted on an Italian farm, and the myrtle is Paphian (II. 64). Cypresses are Idaean (II. 84), and the olive is the *Sicyonia baca* (II. 519). So the palm is Olympic because it is won there (III. 49); the gad-fly is made to swarm about the groves of Silarus; the Greek games are represented by the Alpheus or by Pisa (III. 19, 180); to the

²² In Book I there are 145 examples; in II, 145; in III, 144; in IV, 168.

²³ See I. 1. 3, 10, 13, 19, 28, 34; 8. 6; 14. 11; 15. 17; 16. 9; 18. 9; 19. 6; 20. 1, 9; 22. 2; 23. 10; 24. 13; 26. 9, 11; 27. 2, 5, 21; 29. 9, 15; 31. 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12; 33. 7; 35. 7; 36. 10, 14; 37. 5, 6, 14, 20, 30; 38. 1.

²⁴ I. 120, 149, 228, 265, 309; II. 18, 64, 67, 84, 88, 90, 91, 96, 97, 98, 116, 117, 120, 121, 122, 126, 143, 176, 193, 197, 198, 224, 225, 437, 438, 448, 506, 519; III. 12, 17, 19, 33, 43-4, 49, 115, 121, 146, 147, 151, 180², 202, 204, 249, 255, 268, 306, 307, 312, 345, 405, 425, 450, 526, 551; IV. 41, 119, 177, 270, 283, 287, 334, 379, 380, 545.

tiger is given a home in Libya (III. 249), to the boar one in Sabellian territory (III. 256); while fleece is Milesian (III. 306). The dog is Amyclean and the quiver Cretan even when the African herdsman has them in the long stretches of the desert (III. 345). The epithets are hardly fitting in the last citation, but the verse that contains them both,

armaque Amyclaeumque canem Cressamque pharetram,

by its alliteration, its repeated *-que*, the way in which the vowels vary round the *a* and *e* sounds must have made Vergil deem the verse justified by its own perfection, despite its artificial touch.²⁵ This is the only case of so unfitting an epithet; in geographical allusions, as elsewhere, there is evidence in Vergil of fine discrimination in the aptness and frequency of use of such attributes.

Most arbitrary of all geographical references are those used to make specific some abstract idea or more general concept. They touch the preceding classification in that there must be a certain fitness in them to their purpose, but neither the origin of the object nor the fame of the place for it determines their choice. They are borrowings, conscious or unconscious, from literary sources, or they are due to associations in the author's own experience, and their effect upon his style is the same in either case.

We find Horace thus making specific any sea for traffic by the Myrtoan and again by the Icarian (C. I. 1. 14, 15), and the sea is frequently so treated. Now it is the Adriatic, on which Horace must have suffered in view of his stormy memory of it, now the Tyrrhenian.²⁶ Again, the Empire's foes are made vivid as the Persians and Medes (I. 2. 22, 51), or the Marsi (I. 2. 39) are used to denote a bitter foe, or the Parthians, Scythians and Indians (I. 12. 53, 56).²⁷ So as

²⁵ See below pp. 48-63.

²⁶ For the general idea of the harshness of the Adriatic, cf. C. III. 9. 23. I. 33. 15. For specific seas, cf. I. 3. 15; 11. 6; 14. 20; 16. 4; 26. 2.

²⁷ Compare I. 19. 10, 12; 21. 15; 35. 40.

dangerous places are named Acroceraunia (I. 3. 20), the Syrtes, Caucasus, the shores of the Hydaspes (I. 22. 5, 7, 8), *aequor Atlanticum* (I. 31. 14). In the seventh Ode of the first book famous places of the Greek world are marshalled to give way before the delights of Tibur and the Anio. Book I of the Odes shows in all 44 instances of such arbitrary localization.²⁸

In the Georgics the number is greater, but the proportion about the same, there being 122 instances in the 2186 verses of the four books. In the first book of the Georgics man's food before he had learned from Ceres was the acorn of Chaonia (I. 8), his drink the Achelous (I. 9). As the farmer must observe where on his farm to plant grain, grapes, fruit-trees and grass, so over the wide earth India bears one thing, Tmolus another, while from the land of the Chalybes and Pontus (I. 519) and Epirus come different products. So the fruitful land is Mysia, and more specifically Gargara (I. 102). The sailor is he who tempts the Pontus and the narrows at oyster-bearing Abydus (I. 207). Frequently the points of the compass are designated by the countries lying in the desired quarter. The north is Scythia (I. 240), the land of the Hyperboreans (III. 196), Scythia, the region of Lake Maeotis, the Hister and Rhodope (III. 349-51), or again the region lying beneath the Hyperborean Wain exposed to Eurus as he comes over the Rhiphaean mountains (III. 381). The south is Libya (I. 241); the east is the country of the Arabs and the Geloni (II. 115), or the land along the Euphrates (IV. 561). The birds that foretell rain are those that dive into the crevices of the Caystrian meadows (I. 384); the Italian farmer's pleasant valley is Tempe (II. 469); the poet's own chosen haunts lie along the Spercheus and on the 'revel-ground' of Taygetus (II. 487). The bees come forth thick as

²⁸ C. I. 1. 14, 15; 2. 13, 14, 22, 39, 51; 3. 15, 20; 7. 1-11 (12 names); 8. 16; 11. 6; 12. 53, 56; 14. 20; 16. 4; 19. 10, 12; 21. 15; 22. 5, 7, 8, 14, 15; 26. 2, 3; 31. 14; 33. 15; 34. 10, 11; 35. 7, 9, 40.

the arrows the Parthians shoot (IV. 314); the farmer with a good dog fears no hostile Iberian (III. 408). In two longer passages something of the same freedom of localization is seen—in II. 136–76, in the praise of Italy and of the rich foreign lands with which it is contrasted, and in IV. 365–73, in the list of the rivers Aristaeus sees when he goes down into the halls of his ocean mother. The choice of these rivers seems most arbitrary, for, with the exception of the Tiber, the Anio and the Po, named for their nearness and dearness, they are neither great nor storied enough to justify the wonder Aristaeus feels before them. When Cicero mentions the Hypanis (Tusc. I. 39. 94) in an illustration, he takes pains to say where it is, and to point out that Aristotle is responsible for what he knows about it; references to this river elsewhere are confined largely to geographical writers. The use of the Lycus is equally unaccounted for. Some six or more rivers bear the name; Lewis and Short decide in favor of the one in Paphlagonia for Vergil's reference here, though Servius puts it in Syria. So unidentified a stream would serve only for impressive strangeness. The Caicus and the Enipeus are better known, but when one thinks of all the larger and more famous rivers that the poet has passed by to name these less impressive streams, which boast not even especially musical names to justify their choice, it would seem that he is taking some combination of names that had elsewhere fallen under his eye, or that he is yielding to a bit of vanity in his erudition. The combination eludes our eye before Vergil's time, but it is easy enough to see what must have been before Ovid when he wrote *Metamorphoses* XV. 273–9 where the Lycus, the Hypanis and the Caicus all appear serving in another guise. The eight rivers that Vergil names are separated widely enough to designate north, east and west, but the order of their mention, which brings one from Chalcis to Paphlagonia, or elsewhere, to Thessaly, to Italy, to Scythia, to Mysia and

back to Italy, and the fact that no southern stream is mentioned, do not favor the supposition that the author meant to represent the waters from all quarters of the earth meeting in Cyrene's halls. In the second book (136 ff.) the east is again called on to typify the rich lands that yet can not equal Italy. Not the forests of the Medes, not the Ganges and the Hermus, nor Bactria, nor India, nor Panchaia deserves such measure of praise. Here again the vague and far-off lands are chosen, but at the same time their fame is such that they readily give the desired effect, and the richness of sound in the closing line,

totaque turiferis Panchaia pinguis harenis,

sums up a mass of wealth to set against Italy's charms. In Italy itself places of fertility or beauty, or where man's work, or where the men themselves are great, are enumerated, and its superiority is sealed in the last verse, where Italy's son, victorious, is turning the Indians from Rome's citadel (II. 172).

In somewhat the same fashion Vergil arbitrarily identifies the features of the lower world just as he does the regions above. In Lucretius we find the under-world designated by Orcus twice (I. 115. VI. 762), by Tartarus three times (III. 42, 966, 1012), by Acheron or its adjective Acherusia eight times (III. 37, 86, 628, 978, 984, 1023. IV. 37, 170); there is no mention of the Styx, of Cocytus, or of Avernus, except to explain the physical nature of the lake and to disprove its connection with the lower world. Vergil calls the region Tartarus when he sets aside the possibility of Caesar's becoming king there (I. 36); next it is the dark Styx that sees the pole of heaven that is opposite our own (I. 243); then it is into Tartarus that the oak sends its roots (II. 292), and fittingly it is the noise of greedy Acheron that Nature's great poet has put beneath his feet forever, where that poet is plainly Lucretius (II. 492). It is the cruel stream of Cocytus that the

figure of Envy on Vergil's great temple to Caesar shall fear (III. 38), but from the darkness of Styx Tisiphone is sent up for her cruel progress among the flocks (III. 551). It is the jaws of Hell at Taenarus that Orpheus enters (IV. 467), after which the shades of Erebus (IV. 471) are stirred by his song, and he goes on to see the streams of Cocytus and Styx and Death's secret Tartarus. But it is the waters of Avernus that echo thrice after Eurydice's recall, nor will the harbor official in Orcus suffer Orpheus to return, though Eurydice is moving off across the Styx (IV. 502-6). Vergil seems to have exhausted all the names his language knew for the under-world, and yet there is such skill in their use that no casual reader would ever stop to think how the poet was varying his designations. The contrast with Lucretius' usage, as seen above, shows the Alexandrian touch, but there is ample restraint in the elaboration.

The frequent references to the East in both Vergil and Horace would naturally be most effective at this time, when its intercourse with Rome had been so greatly increased, and even the transfer of the Empire from Rome to the East by Antony was feared. To express the ideas of distance and wealth no other countries had so good a claim. Even the poets had learned since Catullus' day that Britain had not the wealth Mamurra squandered. Where the east and north and, in general, where distant lands are named, the references savor of literature, sometimes even of technical literature, but naturally, where the places are those of Italy, the flavor is of acquaintance and experience. It is to Mantua that Vergil would bring the palms of Palestine which he will win by his triumph in poetry (III. 12), and he will raise his temple to Caesar beside the Mincius whose green fields, slow-moving bends and reed-covered banks he takes pains to mention as a fit scene for his glorious structure. A few verses farther on Greece, the Alpheus, and the groves of Molorchus,

in which are hidden the Nemean games, are but names with no description. The Po, king of rivers, has been known to overflow all the fields, tearing up whole forests and carrying off herds and their stalls as well (I. 481-3). Ameria (I. 265) yields staves, as Massicus and the Falernian fields and Amineia produce wine, and Crustumeria pears (II. 88-97). Clitumnus has along its banks white flocks and the great sacrificial bull, who bathe in its stream and later join in the Roman triumph to the temples of the gods (II. 146-8). So Larius, Benacus, the Lucrine and Avernian lakes are pictured as by one who had both seen and heard them: II. 159-64

te, Lari Maxime, teque,
fluctibus et fremitu adsurgens, Benace, marino?
an memorem portus Lucrinoque addita claustra
atque indignatum magnis stridoribus aequor,
Iulia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso
Tyrrenusque fretis immittitur aestus Avernis?²⁹

Mantua has the familiar touch as described in II. 198-9

et qualem infelix amisit Mantua campum
pascentem niveos herboso flumine cynos,

and with the stretches around Tarentum it shares the following verses II. 200-202,

non liquidi gregibus fontes, non gramina deerunt,
et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus
exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet.

The gad-fly about the groves of Silarus and Alburnum, green with its oaks, torments the herds, which flee in fright from the forests and the woods, and the air and the banks of dwindling Tanager resound to their lowing (III. 146-51). So we know that an eye-witness is describing the old Corycian's small farm beneath the towers of Oebalia's citadel where the dark Galaesus waters the yellowing fields (IV. 125-6).

²⁹ And in my head, for half the day,
The rich Vergilian rustic measure
Of Lari Maxime, all the way,
Like ballad-burthen music, kept.

We find, then, the mystery that stimulates the imagination, the association to the cultured reader, often the pleasing sound in the names of distant places that Vergil uses knowingly to heighten his effects. Sometimes the association seems vague and the learning a little heavy, to the modern reader at least, but the real and vivid pictures of things nearer home and experience relieve the mere book learning and make one less inclined to call Vergil's use of geography Alexandrian, at least to the point of abuse. He has more of geographical reference than Lucretius, but not much more than Catullus, and no more than Horace, while they all fall short of the extent to which Propertius was imbued with love of it. The account of the constant and wide travel over the Empire described by Friedlaender³⁰ makes one realize how familiar the names of many places even far-off would be to the Roman public, through official happenings and the common talk of the street without any acquaintance through literature proper. Real literature, too, in one of its most popular forms, the comedies of Plautus and Terence, had long before taken the privilege of wide and frequent reference to places remote from Italy in translations and adaptations of Greek originals.³¹ The Scythians, Hyperboreans, Dacians and Iberians were beyond the geography of Plautus and Terence, but the East and Africa served the same purpose even then, when the touch was more purely Alexandrian than it became after the activities of Lucullus, Pompey, Caesar and Augustus. In the *Curculio* 438-48 *Curculio* explains why the *miles* has not come in person for the *meretrix*: "It is only three days since the soldier and I arrived in Caria from India; he stayed there to have a statue of himself set up to commemorate his exploits, because Persas, Paphlygonas, Sinopas, Arabas, Caras, Cretanos, Syros, Rhodiam, atque Lyciam, Perediam et

³⁰ Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte*, 8te Auflage, pp. 97-292, 2ter Teil.

³¹ C. Knapp, *Travel in Ancient Times as Seen in Plautus and Terence*, *Cl. Phil.* II. pp. 1-24, 281-304.

Perbibesiam, Centauromachiam et Classiam Unomammiam, Libyamque oram omnem, omnem Conterebromniam, dimidiam partem nationum usque omnium subegit solus intra viginti dies.”³² There is the same vagueness and greatness in the list of real places, heightened and turned broadly to ridicule in the fictitious names.

Turning to literary allusions regardless of localization, one finds the case quite similar. Some book-gathered information is involved in telling the story the author has made the subject of his poem, and here Catullus again, as in the case of geographical references occasioned by the narrative, most shows his Alexandrianism, if such references are to be called Alexandrian. The subject matter of poems 64, 65 and 66 is responsible for most of the references to literature in them, though 64 and 66 show a few of different kinds.

Lucretius naturally deems it necessary to the exposition of his doctrine to name and refute his predecessors in the realm of natural philosophy, so we find references to Heraclitus (I. 638), Empedocles (I. 716), Anaxagoras (I. 830), one to Ennius prized as the first of ‘us’ who sang, who brought from lovely Helicon a wreath of never-dying leaves, to whom the spirit of Homer spoke (I. 117). So Democritus (III. 371, V. 622) is quoted to be refuted, and by *Babylonica Chaldaicum doctrina* (V. 727) Berosus³³ is meant. Otherwise the nature of Lucretius’ subject calls for the fruits of his own observation, investigation and reasoning, or that of his master, which he makes his own, and one finds no more learned allusions, except those that are introduced for illustration and stylistic purposes.

In Horace, Book I of the Odes, there are two poems with themes so chosen that the underlying story is presupposed (I. 10, 15). With the theme once chosen the references are like the greater number in Catullus 64, 65, 66—details of the story the poet is telling.

³² Quoted by Knapp, op. cit., p. 281.

³³ Merrill, Lucretius, ad loc.

The Georgics have the same sort of references in the story of Aristaeus in the fourth book, with all its ramifications touching Cyrene and the Ocean nymphs, Orpheus and Eurydice. Such references are not stylistic, except in so far as an author's taste runs to such themes. Again, as with localizing allusions, the story of some deity's activities is used to name or describe that deity, as Lucretius uses the phrase *Aeneadum genetrix* in his opening line, or as Catullus names the sun in *progenies Thiae* (66. 44), or describes the Eumenides (64. 193) as

Eumenides, quibus anguino redimita capillo
frons expirantis praeportat pectoris iras.³⁴

So Horace frequently designates a person: in I. 17. 22-3 where Bacchus is *Semeleius Thyoneus*; in I. 19. 1-2 Venus is *Mater saeva Cupidinum*, and Bacchus is *Thebanae Semeles puer*. Melpomene in I. 24. 4 is the daughter of Zeus, to whom he gave the lyre and song (Compare Hesiod, Theog. 52 ff.).

Vergil uses this means of identification in Georgics I. 19, where *unique puer monstrator aratri* denotes Triptolemus and refers to the story of his invention of the plough and instruction of men in agriculture. So in the naming of the stars in I. 138 (*claramque Lycaonis Arcton*) the story is recalled in *Lycaonis*, as in the *Atlantides* of *Eoae Atlantides* (I. 221), the *Gnosia* of *Gnosiaque ardentis decedat stella coronae* (I. 222), the *Inoo* of *Inoo Melicertae* (I. 437) and in *Tithoni* of *Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile* (I. 447). Again, in the phrase *pastor ab Amphryso* (III. 2) a story of mythology is recalled by a localizing epithet, but these are the only cases in the Georgics.

In a poem so full of the thought of the imminence of God, in which the country itself is divine (I. 168), and man by toil is to thrive under divine guidance, and dare not go about his

³⁴ Compare Aesch., Coeph., 1049. Paley quotes Paus. I. 28, 6 *πρῶτος δὲ σφισιν Δισχύλος δράκοντας ἐποίησεν ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ θριξίν εἶναι τοῖς δ' ἀγάλμασιν οὔτε τούτοις ἔπεστιν οὐδὲν φοβερόν, οὔτε ὅσα ἄλλα κέϊται θεῶν τῶν ὑπογαίων.*

duties without first worshipping and praying (I. 338-50), in which the phenomena of nature are elevated to the rank of divine beings and made to sympathize with man (I. 466 *ille (sol) etiam extincto miseratus Caesare Romam*) and guide him constantly, one might expect more direct appeal to the deities, and more occasion for mythological reference, but the very nearness of the divine to the simple man in his simple doings makes the more elaborate appeals unnecessary.

No opportunity is lost, however, for the association of the commonplace with the divine. Such is the constant identification of the object with the deity who presides over it, whereby the grain is Ceres, the vine Bacchus, and the wind that visits the fields is a personal being with intent of good or evil. If the association is not to be made with a divine being, then Vergil would have it with some interesting story of mythology or history. As a means to the same creation of an atmosphere as that gained by the constant placing of his adjectives before his nouns,³⁵ the attaching of some story to the description of the simple duties of a farmer's day, or to the account of the humble implements whereby those duties are to be performed gave the poet the power of dignifying and making interesting things which from their simplicity and frequency are apt to become mechanical and colorless. The number of times that Vergil has availed himself in the different parts of the Georgics of this means of occupying the mind as well as the hand of his ploughman points likewise to his appreciation of its usefulness. In the first book, where there is much talk of the ground, the homely crops of grain, lupin and bean, the fertilizing of fields, the use of the plough, ditching and weeding, he shows some twenty-one instances of an added story, told or suggested, to save the subject matter from the barren commonplace. In the second book, where the grove, the orchard and the vine are in themselves more

³⁵ See below, pp. 29 ff.

beautiful and their treatment needs less adornment, he has only half as many cases, while to lift the breeding and rearing of cattle to the sphere of poetry in Book III he resorts again to some twenty stories or storied references. In the last book, aside from the myth with which it closes, he has but nine literary references. The story of the bees becomes a sort of microscopic epic, with the welfare of the hive for hero, as later "si parva licet componere magnis," the glory of Rome is the hero of the Aeneid, and they make history themselves instead of needing references to history to give them interest.

In Lucretius, where to enliven didactic material one might expect frequent use of literary references, there are found in Books I, II, III, V only twenty-one cases,³⁶ about the number Vergil uses in the first book alone. In I. 464 ff. Lucretius used Helen and the Trojan war to illustrate his theory of the nature of 'accidents' and time. Some of his predecessors have spoken more truly than the Pythia from the tripod and laurel of Phoebus (I. 739), which echoes the many references in previous literature to the garlands of bay surrounding the priestess. It is with stinging thyrsus that the great hope of praise has struck his heart (I. 922). *Phoebeaque daedala chordis carmina* (II. 505) may suggest the story of Mercury's gift of the lyre to Apollo, but it is hardly more than a hint. So there is reference for illustration to the Chimaera (II. 705). Man grieves not over what happened before his day, as when the Carthaginians came for their mighty conflict (II. 833 ff.). Tantalus, Tityos, Sisyphus are but mythical figures corresponding to states on earth (III. 981 ff.). *Lumina sis oculis etiam bonus Ancu' reliquit* (III. 1025) echoes Ennius, and the next verse, the thought of the Iliad, XXI. 107 (Munro, ad loc.); then come Xerxes, Scipio, Homer, Democritus and Epicurus himself, the great of the earth gone down in death (III.

³⁶ I. 464-5, 739, 922-3; II. 505, 705; III. 833, 981 ff., 1011, 1025, 1029, 1034, 1037, 1039, 1042; V. 22 ff., 35, 112, 326, 397, 878, 1303.

1025-42). Hercules with the service of his labors (V. 22 ff.) to mankind is not to be compared with Epicurus. Again, the truth is greater than that uttered by the Pythia from the tripod and Phoebus' laurel (V. 112). The poet sang of the war at Thebes and at Troy (V. 326), and Greek poets of old sang of how Phaethon was carried astray by the horses of the sun and cast to earth by Jove (V. 397). Centaurs are mentioned but to be denied (V. 878), and again, as in III. 833 war is the struggle with the Carthaginians (V. 1303). The references are few, simple and broad, to stories or facts generally known. The reader's mind is never drawn aside from the point illustrated by the illustration.

The use of such references in Catullus and Horace is more like Vergil's own, though those of Catullus are simple and not so frequent. There is the story of Atalanta in the unsatisfying close of the second poem and a reference to the wealth of Midas (24. 4); wine is *Thyonianus* (27. 7); Memmius and Piso are *opprobria Romuli Remique* (28. 15). Sadder than the tears of Simonides should be the lines sent by Cornificius (38. 8). In 58b speed is denoted by some five persons noted for it, a passage similar to the geographical references quoted from the eleventh poem (page 6, above). In 74. 4 Harpocrates represents silence, and again in 102. 4. The Epyllion shows Syrtis, Scylla and Charybdis as monsters who might have given Theseus birth (64. 156); Athens is *portus Erechtheus* in 211 and *sedes Erechthei* in 229, while the poplar is designated by *lentaque sorore flammati Phaethontis* in 290-1. In poem 66 *bonum facinus* (27) is the slaying of Demetrius of Macedonia by Berenice; Xerxes is the *barbara iuventus* (45) who cut a way through Athos for his fleet; and hidden in the uncertain verses 52-4 is some story of Memnon's brother Emathion identified with the ostrich, or an equally recondite allusion. Horace is fond of references to a story, and the first book of the Odes shows some thirty cases. Often the reference is in just one

suggestive name, as in 1. 12 *Attalicis condicionibus*, 6. 2 *Maeonii carminis*, 6. 6-8 *gravem Pelidae stomachum, cursus duplicis Ulixei saevam Pelopis domum*, 16. 17 *irae Thyesten . . . stravere*, 18. 8 *Centaurea cum Lapithis rixa*, 24. 13 *Threicio blandius Orphea*, 27. 19 *Quanta laborabas Charybdi*, 29. 14 *libros Panaeti Socraticam et domum*, 32. 5 *Lesbio civi*. In other cases the story is outlined briefly, or at least some particulars are given.³⁷

In the Georgics the story attaches to all sorts of objects. The myrtle with which Caesar's brows are to be bound in his immortality is *materna*, by which Vergil gives in one simple adjective the story of the divine source of the Julian line (I. 28). The time when Nature decreed fixed laws for definite regions was when Deucalion cast the stones to earth from which the *durum genus* was born (I. 62). The poppy that exhausts the field's fertility is the same that is drenched with Lethe's sleep of forgetfulness (I. 78). The farmer must have the implements of his work, the slow-moving wains of the Eleusinian Mother and the simple equipment that she gave to King Celeus when she tarried in his country and taught men agriculture; and his winnowing fan is the fan of Iacchus in the mysteries (I. 163-6). Such implements must be handled with a new reverence.

The unlucky days of the month are so because they are the birthdays of Orcus, the Eumenides, and the Giants whom Jove hurled down with his bolt. Fair weather is foretold by the flight of the hawk and the *ciris*, and both story and composition are elaborated (I. 404-9). So Aetna's eruption entails the story of the Cyclops (I. 471), and Rome paid the penalty for Troy built under the cheating Laomedon (I. 502). The poplar is the shade tree of Heracles' crown (II. 66); apples are *Alcinoi silvae* (II. 87). The reference to Italy's great sons,

³⁷ Compare 2. 6, 7, 17; 3. 27-36; 4. 5-8; 6. 13-16; 7. 21 ff.; 8. 14; 12. 7 ff., 19 ff.; 16. 5 ff., 13 ff., 17; 17. 16-20; 24. 18; 27. 24; 28. 7-10, 20.

the Decii, Marii, Camilli, the Scipios (II. 169-70) involves a knowledge of Roman history, and Italy herself is *Saturnia tellus* (II. 173). The goats must be kept from the young vines because of the poison in their bite, and for this very reason the goat is sacrificed to Bacchus, whereupon there follows a description of the celebrations at the Greek and at the Italian festivals in his honor (II. 380-96). The Italians themselves are called *Ausonii Troia gens missa coloni*, to enlarge the story still more. There are blessings from Bacchus, and blame to be laid at his door as well, for it was he who brought death upon the Centaurs in their conflict with the Lapiths (II. 456-7). So, when Vergil is paying tribute to Lucretius and contrasting himself, he makes a reference to a theory which Cicero traces to Empedocles (Tusc. 1. 9: Empedocles animum esse censet cordi suffusum sanguinem), though the notion of the heart as the seat of the intellect was common among the Romans whether they knew Empedocles or not.³⁸

In announcing his subject at the opening of the third book, Vergil cites epic themes that are outworn, Eurystheus, Busiris, Hylas, Latonia Delos, Hippodame and Pelops, and then in epic strain tells of the great temple of song he will rear to Caesar's glory later. In this passage naturally there is much story. The references to the Greek games, by which Vergil brings his horses in touch with Pindar's famous mules, are begun here (II. 19); all Greece will forsake the Alpheus and the groves of the poor shepherd Molorchus, by whose hospitality Heracles is refreshed, to yield him the victory. Then follow Caesar's triumphs that are to be represented on the temple, conquered nations by the Ganges and the Nile, Parthians and the cities of Asia, Morini and Dalmatians, and the glory of Caesar's line no less than his own, figures of

³⁸ Compare Cic. Tusc. I. 9. 18 Aliis cor ipsum animus videtur, ex quo excordes, vaecordes, concordisque dicuntur et Nasica ille prudens his consul Corculum et egregie cordatus homo, catus Aelius Sextus. Compare also such phrases as sapere corde, Plaut. Mil. 2. 3. 65. Lucr. I. 737, V. 1107.

Assaracus and the Jove-descended race, and of Troy's builder, Cynthius (III. 26-36).

From these things Cithaeron and Epidaurus call him (III. 44), and he turns to his more immediate task of breeding horses to win the prizes at Olympia (III. 49). The war horse is like Cyllarus who was obedient to Pollux' reins, or the horses of Mars and Achilles (III. 90-1) mentioned in the *Iliad* (XV. 119, XVI. 148), or like the spirited steed into which Saturn turned himself and filled Pelion with his neighing (III. 92-94). Then follows a description of the race, and how Erichthonius first yoked to his chariot four horses, and the Lapiths taught fighting on horseback (III. 113-5). The horse sprung from Neptune himself will not serve if he be not young (III. 122); one must protect the herds from the gad-fly which Juno made to torment Inachus' child (III. 153); the spotted lynxes even in their wild state belong to Bacchus with the associations of the East (III. 264), and the madness of the mares is Venus-sent, since the time when Glaucus' horses tore him and ate his flesh in frenzy (III. 267). If one prizes fleece, let his rams be white, as white as the fleece Pan donned to attract Luna (III. 391-3), as Nicander told (Servius ad loc.). When the plague had fallen upon the beasts, oxen were sought in vain for Juno's rites, and the cars were drawn by buffaloes ill-matched (III. 533), though Herodotus says the priestess' sons drew the car (I. 31). The story in the verse *Phillyrides Chiron Amythaoniusque Melampus* (III. 550) is only secondary, for the imposing sound of the names would make one despair of finding a remedy when such men had failed. Tisiphone as the death goddess of the plague borne along by Fear and Disease thrusts up her greedy face higher day by day (III. 552-3), and so the death of the dumb beasts is dignified by this goddess embodiment of terror.

There is less of the story attached to ordinary objects in the fourth book, but here the birds are not to come near the

bee hives, not even Procne staining her breast with bloody hands (IV. 15). The old Corycian, whose charming garden Vergil saw, is dignified by the ancient greatness of his town, founded by Spartans of the race of King Oebalus (IV. 125). Jupiter gave the bees their praiseworthy customs, and gave them in gratitude for their feeding him in the cave of Dicte when they followed the songs and cymbals of the Curetes (IV. 150-2). The bees work as the Cyclopes do beneath Aetna (IV. 17 ff.), but their dwellings are no more free from pests than was man's granary, and Minerva's spider Arachne builds her web across their doors (IV. 246-7). Within the story of Orpheus, among those weeping for Eurydice is Thrace, the land of Rhesus (though he was king after Orpheus' day) (IV. 462); the Hebrus, down which Orpheus' head was rolled, is the stream his father Oeagrus beheld (IV. 524). The home wherein Vergil learnt the charm upon which his fame was to rest was named for a Siren, Parthenope (IV. 564).

II

WORD ORDER

Word order is a potent factor in the production of stylistic effect. All sorts of shades of meaning and emotion are possible from the different arrangements of the words in a sentence, and much of an author's power is discernible through a study of the relative positions of his words. The position of adjective and noun, with regard to each other and with regard to their place in the verse, that of verbs, especially with regard to the verse, the carrying over of words or phrases from one verse to another for special effect, the placing of words side by side according to the principles of likeness or contrast, all point to conscious elaboration of word order that throws light upon the author's artistic creed.

In general, as regards the position of noun and adjective, the first place falls to the adjective, in prose as well as in poetry. In Cicero's fourth Philippic the ratio is 93 : 59, and in Livy I. 1-7, 136 : 73. This order is discussed by Herbert Spencer in his essay on style.³⁹ "Ought we to say with the French—*un cheval noir*; or to say as we do—a black horse? Probably, most persons of culture will say that one order is as good as the other. Alive to the bias produced by habit, they will ascribe to that the preference they feel for our own form of expression. They will expect those educated in the use of the opposite form to have an equal preference for that. And thus they will conclude that neither of these instinctive judgments is of any worth. There is, however, a psychological ground for deciding in favor of the English custom. If "a horse black" be the arrangement, then immediately on the

³⁹ Herbert Spencer, *Philosophy of Style*, p. 16.

utterance of the word "horse," there arises, or tends to arise, in the mind, an idea answering to that word; and as there has been nothing to indicate what *kind* of horse, any image of a horse suggests itself. Very likely, however, the image will be that of a brown horse: brown horses being the most familiar. The result is that when the word "black" is added, a check is given to the process of thought. Either the picture of a brown horse already present to the imagination has to be suppressed, and the picture of a black one summoned in its place; or else, if the picture of a brown horse be yet unformed, the tendency to form it has to be stopped. Whichever is the case, some hindrance results. But if, on the other hand, "a black horse" be the expression used, no mistake can be made. The word "black," indicating an abstract quality, arouses no definite idea. It simply prepares the mind for conceiving some object of that color; and the attention is kept suspended until that object is known. If, then, by precedence of the adjective, the idea is always conveyed rightly, whereas precedence of the substantive is apt to produce a misconception; it follows that the one gives the mind less trouble than the other, and is therefore more forcible."

Norden notes the same tendency for the hexameter of the *Aeneid*.⁴⁰ When the two bound a verse, or when they occur in interlocked order, Norden observes that the adjective precedes in an overwhelming number of cases, and attributes the position to care that the verse should not fall away too much at the end. To compensate for the falling rhythm the weight of the idea, he argues, should occupy this part of the verse, and under normal circumstances the substantive contains the weight. The same arrangement holds true when the noun and attribute are separated by the verse-end, and Norden attributes this to the fact that the substantive bears the main idea; did this occur in the preceding verse, there would

⁴⁰ Norden, *Comm. to Aen. VI.*, Anhang III. pp. 382-391.

be nothing, he maintains, to make the reader expect a qualifying attribute to follow. Cases of the reversal of the position may all, according to him, be referred to a desire for a specific effect, and they occur generally when the attribute and not the substantive contains the important idea.

From Norden's viewpoint—the proper balancing of the verse as regards rhythm and content—the position of the substantive and attribute becomes almost a mechanical fixity of the rhythmical structure. In the case of the two separated by the verse-end, however, he does bring forward the principle that is made the basis of the position by Spencer. According to him economy of the reader's mental energy is the reason why the position of the adjective before the noun is the most reasonable and effective. The substantive, though it be general, is conceived as a particular, and if its qualification is not indicated to the mind before the concept is formed, there will in the great majority of cases have to be a readjustment of concept, and so a waste of mental energy. By the precedence of the adjective the idea is conveyed "without liability to error . . . , gives the mind less trouble and is therefore more forcible."

The attribute preceding the substantive is one phase of the so-called ascending order, which Henri Weil thinks tends in general to unity of thought expression, while the descending order tends to analysis and particularity.⁴¹ He thinks there is closer thought connection between the substantive and its modifier when the latter precedes than when it follows, and in commending the French language for its elasticity of usage, despite its avowed preference for the descending construction, he notes that poetic epithets and those that are addressed chiefly to the imagination are usually placed before the substantive.⁴² This observation in the case of the French

⁴¹ Henri Weil, *Order of Words in the Ancient Languages Compared with the Modern*. Translated by C. W. Super.

⁴² Weil, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

language, where the choice of ascending or descending construction is not so free, yet furnishes a basis of distinction between the two positions that may hold true for Latin, where the choice is much freer, a distinction plainly discernible in the *Georgics* as a whole.

Norden's explanation of the position does not go deep enough. The relation between the two words involved is one of thought rather than an artificial compensating for the falling rhythm of the dactylic hexameter. In the iambic verse of Horace's *Epodes*, where there is no falling rhythm, the same arrangement of the adjective and noun is noted, the ratio being 330 : 137 in 448 verses, about $2\frac{1}{2} : 1$. The iambic verse of Catullus shows the same arrangement, though the proportion is less, 117 : 66 in 181 verses, a little less than 2 : 1. This agrees very closely with the proportion in 500 verses of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* III, the ratio being 362 : 196, while *Aeneid* II, written in descending rhythm, as are the *Metamorphoses*, shows 678 : 342, a little less than 2 : 1 again. In view of Horace's use in ascending iambic rhythm, which exceeds that of the *Metamorphoses* or of the *Aeneid*, the theory of compensation for falling dactylic rhythm seems quite inadequate. Spencer's view gives the psychological basis for Weil's observations, although Spencer emphasizes the advisability of the ascending construction between modifier and substantive for all cases. Growing out of the quality-concept theory of Spencer, and, in the *Georgics* especially, agreeing with the observation of Weil, is the effect of creating for the nouns, so many of which in this poem are homely and unpoetic words, an atmosphere of color, sound, beauty, happiness so appropriate that it takes into itself as its proper support the homely substantive when it comes, and has already invested it with a charm which it might be difficult to add once it had come forward in its prosaic aspect. If it was Vergil's purpose in the *Georgics* not so much to write a practical manual for

farmers, as to invest the time-honored work of the farmer with all the charm and interest that could be brought to bear upon it, to sing the poetry of the simplest activities of daily life⁴³ in an occupation being steadily more and more disregarded by his countrymen, such a means toward elevating his subject to the sphere of poetry as this creation of an atmosphere by the arrangement of his words could hardly have failed to be evolved, had not the exigencies of his meter and the proper formation of concepts and close connection of thought already assured it to him.

A passage illustrating the effect of this arrangement is G. III. 286 ff.:

superat pars altera curae,
lanigeros agitare greges hirtasque capellas.
hic labor, hinc laudem fortes sperate coloni.
nec sum animi dubius verbis ea vincere magnum
quam sit et angustis hunc addere rebus honorem.

He knew his task was difficult, but even in this partial index he relied on a trusted means of securing charm, and thought it worth while to present the soft white of *lanigeros* and the picturesque shagginess of *hirtas* to the reader's mind before he showed the sheep and goats, while the simple farmers must be *fortes*, raised at once to a dignity often not seen in their calling. The passage III. 322-38 shows the same means for the creation of an atmosphere.

at vero zephyris cum laeta vocantibus aestas
in saltus utrumque gregem atque in pascua mittet,
Luciferi primo cum sidere frigida rura
carpamus, dum mane novum, dum gramina canent
et ros in tenera pecori gratissimus herba.

⁴³ Walter Pater speaks of the same qualities of charm and interest inherent in ordinary things being recovered for Marius (Marius, the Epicurean. p. 17) "And those simple gifts, like other objects as trivial—bread, oil, wine, and milk—had regained for him, by their use in such religious service, that poetic and as it were, moral significance, which surely belongs to all the means of our daily life, could we but break through the veil of our familiarity with things by no means vulgar in themselves."

inde ubi quarta sitim caeli collegerit hora
 et cantu querulae rumpunt arbusta cicadae,
 ad puteos aut alta greges ad stagna iubebo
 currentem ilignis potare canalibus undam;
 aestibus at mediis umbrosam exquirere vallem,
 sicubi magna Iovis antiquo robore quercus
 ingentis tendat ramos, aut sicubi nigrum
 ilicibus crebris sacra nemus accubet umbra;
 tum tenuis dare rursus aquas et pascere rursus
 solis ad occasum, cum frigidus aera vesper
 temperat, et saltus reficit iam roscida luna,
 litoraue alcyonen resonant, aealanthida dumi.

If the goatherd thought of his duties on a summer day as Vergil has depicted them here, he was a blessed co-heir of an almost perfect universe. Throughout the passage the adjectives precede the nouns, except in the phrases *ros gratissimus*, where the adjective in close junction with *pecori* indicates a charm in addition to that of *ros*; *aestibus mediis*, where the functions of noun and adjective as regards the general and the specific are reversed (the adjective particularizing the general concept in *aestibus*); and *ilicibus crebris*, for the arrangement of which there seems to be no stylistic cause, unless it be variety. In the first book the plough-share is polished in the furrow until it flashes in the light (I. 46 *attritus splendescere vomer*). So there is a hugeness of the harvest before it comes (I. 49 *immensae messes*), and there is mystery in the unbroken ground (*ignotum aequor*) and fickleness in the heaven's way (*varium morem*), and an assurance gained by our fathers in the cultivation of a plot (*patrios cultus*). Instances could be multiplied, for there are almost three times as many adjectives preceding their nouns in the first book of the Georgics as there are following them (472 : 166). Such a large proportion, as compared with the ratio noted in Cicero and Livy, would point to some underlying cause, not to be found in Norden's assumption of the need of weight in the latter half of the hexameter, but more probably in the advantage of going from a less to a more specific idea, and the height-

ening of picturesqueness, which we discover in the poem, whether it be conscious or not. The smaller proportion in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and in *Aeneid* II—where the incidents themselves are more lively and poetic—points likewise to Vergil's appreciation of this means of compensating for unpoetic material.

This relative position is also true when the adjective and substantive are put at the beginning and the close of a verse. In the *Georgics* there are only four cases of this kind where the adjective follows (II. 74, III. 83, IV. 15, 91), and one of these shows interlocked order with another pair.

The opening and closing of a verse with attribute and substantive occurs frequently enough for one to infer that Vergil was conscious of its power to bind a verse together and give prominence to the words so placed, but the number of verses so arranged⁴⁴ is not large enough to warrant calling the usage a mannerism. Of the verses noted almost half in each book are cases where another noun and attribute are included between the opening and closing pair, and here the arrangement has the adjective now preceding, now following, the preference being still given to the former position. There are lines like I. 66

pulverulenta coquat maturis solibus aestas,

or like I. 81,

effetos cinerem immundum iactare per agros,

four of each in the first book, while the second shows ten of the first type to one of the second, the third, seven to one, and the fourth, eight to four. In some cases other principles are involved in the placing, as, for example, in I. 66, quoted above. Verse 65 reads

fortes invertant tauri, glaebasque iacentis

and the drawing of *pulverulenta* to the opening of the following

⁴⁴ In Book I. 21; in II. 22; in III. 15; in IV. 24.

verse makes it do duty as qualifying *glaebas* even more than *aestas* in sense. The heat is to cook the clods until they crumble to dust. I. 224,

invitae properes anni spem credere terrae,

may quite as well owe its arrangement to the idea of contrast in the juxtaposition of *invitae* and *properes* as to the separation of noun and attribute at the verse ends. I. 510,

vicinae ruptis inter se legibus urbes,

is open to the same influence, as is III. 153,

Inachiae Iuno pestem meditata iuvencae.

IV. 438 *vix defessa senem passus componere membra*

shows *defessa* and *senem* side by side, with heightened effect from the principle of likeness rather than contrast.

There are many verses in the *Georgics* containing two substantives and two attributes, and the arrangements of the four words vary much. This use of pairs of words is but the appearance in verse of the same tendency seen in prose that gives the second noun an attribute because the first has one. It belongs to the cultivation of balance, begun as early as Gorgias in the study of artistic prose discourse.⁴⁵ Cicero's prose is full of it,⁴⁶ and the placing of the adjective sometimes produces as marked rhetorical effect as is to be found in poetry. Norden quotes⁴⁷ Cat. 1. 1 *cum illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium coniecimus*; Att. 7. 3 *vetere instituto vitae effugit nova pericula*. Add to these Pro Sestio, 2. 5 . . .

⁴⁵ Octave Navarre, *Essai sur la rhétorique grecque avant Aristote*, pp. 92-111, traces the use of metaphors, figures of harmony, word order, and repetition, the innovations that Gorgias brought into prose from poetry, employed to a small extent in Aeschylus and more in Sophocles. Norden attributes the usage in Latin poetry to the influence of rhetorical prose (Comm. to Aen. VI. Anhang III. p. 386. Fridericus Caspari, however, *De ratione quae inter Vergilium et Lucanum intercedat quaestiones selectae*, p. 88, refers it to Alexandrian poetry. See also Norden, *Kunstprosa*, pp. 16, 75 ff.

⁴⁶ Norden, Comm. to Aen. VI. Anhang III. pp. 386-7.

⁴⁷ Norden, Comm. to Aen. VI. Anhang III. p. 387.

priusquam docuero quibus initiis ac fundamentis haec tantae summis in rebus laudes excitatae sunt; 3. 8 ut et illi quaestor bonus omnibus optimus civis videretur; 7. 15 et multorum timore intentus est arcus in me unum.

In the Georgics there have been noted the verses in which the two adjectives occur first, separated by some word or words from the two nouns to follow. There are many of this type:⁴⁸ compare, for example,

- | | |
|----------|--|
| III. 514 | discissos nudis laniabant dentibus artus |
| III. 178 | sed tota in dulcis consument ubera natos |
| I. 361 | cum medio celeres revolant ex aequore mergi |
| IV. 417 | dulcis compositis spiravit crinibus aura . . . |

Modifications of this arrangement occur, where the adjectives still precede but no verb occurs, or where one noun precedes the verb, or where one adjective follows, etc., as in the following instances:

- | | |
|---------|---|
| I. 291 | et quidam seros hiberni ad luminis ignis |
| I. 265 | atque Amerina parant lentae retinacula viti |
| IV. 468 | et caligantem nigra formidine lucum |
| IV. 488 | cum subita incautum dementia cepit amantem. |

Such an arrangement, in which both adjectives come before both nouns, is by far the most common for a verse containing two pairs of substantives and attributes, except for the arrangement in which the adjective and the noun belonging together both occur before the other pair is introduced. Even here the two classes approach each other very closely numerically. In Book I the number of cases of the two types is the same, in IV there are three more of the former type (57 : 54); in II and III the ratio is 43 : 65 and 42 : 60.

The reverse of this arrangement, two nouns followed by two adjectives, is very rare, occurring in all four books of the Georgics only twenty-two times. There is the "Golden" type, as, II. 387

oraeque corticibus sumunt horrenda cavatis

⁴⁸ In Bk. I, 47; Bk. II. 43; Bk. III. 42; Bk. IV. 57.

or III. 386

continuoque greges villis lege mollibus albos,

and a variety of arrangements not strictly "Golden," as,
II. 527

ipse dies agitat festos fususque per herbam

or II. 461,

si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis

or II. 40,

o decus, o famae merito pars maxima nostrae

or I. 476-7,

vox quoque per lucos vulgo exaudita silentis
ingens, et simulacra modis pallentia miris.

With as definite an artistic purpose behind it is the verse that shows the interlocked order of the pairs, where the adjective of one group and the noun of the other precede, or vice versa. Examples are:

- | | |
|----------|--|
| I. 467 | cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit |
| II. 31 | truditur e sicco radix oleagina ligno. |
| II. 89 | non eadem arboribus pendet vindemia nostris |
| III. 254 | flumina correptosque unda torquentia montis |
| IV. 34 | seu lento fuerint alvaria vimine texta |
| IV. 190 | in noctem, fessosque sopor suus occupat artus. |

Such verses are numerous,⁴⁹ but in many of them, as for that matter in all the classes, there are often other principles at work as well, such as likeness or contrast, and considerations of rhyme and euphony.

The last arrangement of noun and substantive within the verse covers the cases where two pairs occur, but the first noun has its own adjective before the other pair is begun. Both adjectives may precede their respective nouns, as in IV. 82

ipsi per medias acies insignibus alis,

both may follow, as in III. 231

frondibus hirsutis et carice pastus acuta,

⁴⁹ In Bk. I, 22 times; II, 31; III, 22; IV, 25.

or one may precede and one follow, as in III. 243

et genus aequoreum, pecudes, pictaeque volucres. . .

The second type is of less frequent occurrence, while the other two vary little in their statistics, except in the first book, where the ratio is 24 : 17 in favor of both adjectives preceding their nouns. In view of the great tendency of the single adjective to precede, the frequent arrangement of the two pairs so that one attribute follows seems a distinct concession to artistic placing, despite the easy and natural impulse of the mind to chiasmus.

The frequency of Vergil's use of such pairs of noun and adjective is, as one would expect, intermediate between the usage of authors who have almost none of it and those who use it to excess. The arrangement is practically unknown in Ennius, occurs rarely in Lucretius, to excess in Catullus 64, and more often in the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* than in the *Aeneid*.⁵⁰

In a different sphere of composition Plautus shows the same sort of artistic word order.⁵¹ Leo in an article on word order in Plautus deals first with the position of prepositions and nouns and groups that were, or were on their way to becoming, fixed. But beyond this he gives instances of interlocked order as an artistic means in Plautus' poetry, as it became one of the most important means in the poetry of the Augustan age. He assigns the development of this order to the tendency of like parts of speech to juxtaposition, as also of words from the same root, and of words from different roots with similar

⁵⁰ Norden, *Comm. to Aen. VI. Anhang III.* p. 385, where the investigation is made for cases of both adjectives preceding the nouns. Cf. Fridericus Caspari, *op. cit.*, p. 88 for a table giving ratios of the proportional use of the arrangement by Vergil's predecessors and his followers—Ennius, A. 1: 428; Lucretius, I. VI. 1: 140; Cicero, *Aratea*, 1: 13; Catullus, 64, 1: 7; Vergilius, A. I, VI. 1: 43; Georg., I: IV, 1: 16; *Bucolics*, 1: 21, Ovidius, *Met.* I. 1: 18; Lucanus, I. II. III. 1: 9; Silius, I. 1: 13; Val. Fl. I. 1: 18; Statius, *Th.*, I. 1: 15.

⁵¹ F. Leo, *Bemerkungen über plautinische Wortstellung und Wortgruppen*, *Gött. Nacht.*, 51, pp. 415–33.

or contrasted meaning. He quotes a case in Umbrian, and for words of similar and contrasted meaning, the Scipio inscription, *hunc oino ploirume . . . duonoro optumo*. In the ancient Latin language it is above all the pronouns which are thus brought together, but the same principle evolves the interlocked order of noun and adjective. In addition to the statistics given by Caspari, there are studies of this interlocked order of adjective and substantive which show that it is of frequent occurrence in Horace.⁵² In the elegiac poets it is found to amount to one in five verses in Tibullus, one in four in Propertius, and one to four in Ovid.⁵³ These poets even exceed Catullus' frequent use in the sixty-fourth poem, although the investigation covered more arrangements for the elegiac poets than Caspari, following Norden, included in his estimate for Catullus.

So far the discussion has been restricted to the verse, but Vergil's construction is frequently "run-on"⁵⁴ and there are many cases where the verse-end divides substantive and attribute. Sometimes the noun is divided from one or more adjectives, sometimes one of the more elaborate arrangements of pairs discussed above is thus broken. Frequently in the third and fourth books (twenty times in each), where there are more cases (85 and 66 as opposed to 45 in I and 45 in II) of noun and substantive separated by verse-end, do we find the noun preceding, sometimes with other attributes in its own verse, as,

- III. 66-7 *optima quaeque dies miseris mortalibus aevi*
 prima fugit
 III. 245-6 *tempore non alio catulorum oblita laena*
 saeuior erravit campis,
 III. 425-6 *est etiam ille malus Calabris in saltibus anguis*
 squamea convolvens sublato pectore terga.

⁵² H. Eggers, *De ordine et figuris verborum quibus Horatius in carminibus usus est*, pp. 68-73. Also B. Born, *Programm der Domschule zu Magdeburg* 1891, treats special odes with reference to word order.

⁵³ Walter Gebhard, *De Tibulli Propertii Ovidii distichis*. See table at end.

⁵⁴ 175 verses, one third of the total in Bk. I are so constructed.

Sometimes the noun itself finishes a verse, but begins a new clause, as,

- III. 224-5 nec mors bellantis una stabulare, sed alter
 victus abit longeque ignotis exsulat oris
III. 546-7 ipsis et aer avibus non aequus, et illae
 praecipites alta vitam sub nube relinquunt.
IV. 53-5 illae continuo saltus silvasque peragrant
 purpureosque metunt flores et flumina libant
 summa leves.

The last passage shows extreme separation in *illae leves*, and *summa* separated from *flumina* and drawn by the principle of likeness to *leves*.⁵⁵ In general the noun and the adjective are no farther apart than the limit of two verses, and they frequently occupy corresponding positions in the two, as,

- II. 308-9 et totum involvit flammis nemus et ruit atram
 ad caelum picea crassus caligine nubem
II. 80-1 plantae immittuntur: nec longum tempus et ingens
 exiit ad caelum ramis felicibus arbos
II. 458-9 O fortunatos, nimium, sua si bona norint,
 agricolas! quibus . . .

(Compare I. 331-2, 476-7.)

There are cases of the interlocked order of substantive and attribute carried across the verse-end, as,

- I. 485-6 aut puteis manare cruor cessavit, et altae
 per noctem resonare lupis ululantibus urbes.
I. 487-8 non alias caelo ceciderunt plura sereno
 fulgura nec diri totiens arsere cometae.
IV. 268-9 arentisque rosas, aut igni pinguia multo
 defruta vel psithia passos de vite racemos.

There are many cases of two adjectives in the first verse belonging to two nouns in the second, as,

- III. 506-7 spiritus, interdum gemitu gravis, imaque longo
 ilia singultu tendunt, it naribus ater
I. 338-9 in primis venerare deos, atque annua magnae
 sacra refer Cereri laetis operatus in herbis
II. 190-1 hic tibi praevalidas olim multoque fluentis
 sufficiet Baccho vitis, hic fertilis uvae . . .

⁵⁵ Compare IV. 317-9, *Aristaeus tristis* and 322-4 *me invisum*.

(Compare I. 14-15, 357-8, 371-2; II. 262-3; III. 354-5, 376-7, 442-3; IV. 127-8, 140-1.)

This naturally brings the discussion to the use Vergil makes of single words or short phrases carried over into the succeeding verse, followed by a marked pause. This, of course, has a different effect from the simple run-on construction of two or more verses, where the whole, or at least a larger part, of the following verse is included in the original sentence. This pause is used with various effects,⁵⁶ but the one effect inherent in the pause is emphasis by the somewhat unexpected check to the flow of the verse so soon after its beginning. The combined effect of this emphasis with the meaning of the words themselves so placed gives the heightened force of suddenness, excitement, or dead check so often noted in connection with the use of the pause.

In the *Georgics* examples of such words or short phrases carried over with pause are numerous, as,

I. 107-10 et, cum exustus ager morientibus aestuat herbis,
 ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam
 elicit? illa cadens raucum per levia murmur
 saxa ciet, scatebrisque arentia temperat arva.

Here *elicit* by its position indicates the sudden burst of the water over the rocks (*saxa ciet*, with its pause, marking another less striking stage in its course).⁵⁷ In I. 126-7

 ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campum
 fas erat:

the position of *fas erat* gives heightened emphasis to the moral right that was violated by the division and marking of fields.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ S. E. Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse*, pp. 10 ff., notes the effect of emphasis, of suddenness or rapidity, of variety in the rhythm, of tragic excitement, scorn, indignation, a dead check, etc., gained in this way.

⁵⁷ Compare I. 326, *diluit*; 333, *deicit*. II. 210, 283, 368, 510. III. 67, 111, 198, 277, 422, 446-7, 543. IV. 79, 173, 189, 313, 351, 410, 440, 555.

⁵⁸ Compare I. 236, 456, 477; II. 16, 144, 147, 311, 406; III. 41, 101, 173, 192, 227, 259, 343, 364, 389, 508; IV. 22, 32, 61, 98, 107, 192, 204, 212, 226, 309, 356, 391, 483, 493, 515, 540, 542.

In I. 133-4

ut varias usus meditando extunderet artis
paulatim,

similar is the position of *paulatim*. Though the pause is not so heavy, and is followed immediately by *et*, joined even more closely to the adverb by elision, still the slow progress in man's art of farming is dragged on by the adverb reserved to the end of its clause and opening a new verse with quite a perceptible pause following. It is again the same note as the *durum genus* of I. 63, and the frequent *labor, labores hominum-que boumque*, and (II. 401) *redit agricolis labor actus in orbem*, and again (II. 513) *agricola incurvo terram dimovit aratro* with its calm slow-moving inevitable round after the varied and turbulent business of the men who care not for the glory of the divine country. In I. 150-3

mox et frumentis labor additus, ut mala culmos
esset robigo segnisque horreret in arvis
carduus;

carduus effectively stops progress with its prickly, clinging shoots. There is the death of the crops and the rise of an unruly kingdom of outlaws that tend to twine themselves into a veritably impassable thicket with the *-que's* of the next verse,

lappaeque tribolique interque nitentia culta
infelix lolium et steriles dominantur avenae.

I. 463-4 solem quis dicere falsum
audeat ?

gives by position an emphasis and bold defiance to *audeat* that would force humbled credence for the miracles to follow. So in the passage II. 88-90

ergo non hiemes illam, non flabra neque imbres
convellunt: immota manet multosque nepotes

convellunt gives a most effective pause after the spondaic opening to denote resistance to motion, the notion of the slow-dragging *paulatim* noted above.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Compare I. 241; II. 352, 381; III. 424, 506, 510, 512; IV. 196, 311, 515.

In many other verses where there is a similar structure the pause serves merely a rhythmical purpose, or to give the necessary stop for both thought and voice after two or more run-on verses. The pause in itself need have no rhetorical significance, though it is a valuable aid along with the other means for various effects.

Of the phrases so carried over into a new verse verbs, or verbs and a modifier, are of most frequent occurrence (177 out of 275 cases), doubtless because of the definite tendency of the verb in Latin toward the last of the sentence; and many of the cases that show no rhetorical purpose are of this nature. It is the use of the verb in this position, however, that often denotes suddenness or slowness of action. If a noun, adjective, or adverb is so placed, there is an emphasis thrown upon it that may enhance the meaning of the verb, but more often brings into prominence some other idea. Particularly effective is this position for a vocative, and so it occurs frequently:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| II. 96 | et quo te carmine dicam
Rhaetica? |
| II. 41 | Maecenas, pelagoque volans da vela patenti |
| I. 14 | tuque o, cui prima frementem
fudit equum magno tellus percussa tridenti,
Neptune; |
| I. 17 | ipse nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lÿcaeï
Pan, ovium custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae. |

Some importance attaches to the position of the verb as often the most telling word of the sentence. In addition to the tendency just noted for the verb to constitute the run-on part of the clause, there is the balance of verbs complementary to each other, or contrasted, for the full expression of a thought. Such verbs are put into the prominent positions of opening and closing a verse, an arrangement which is often chiasmic, the two subjects being thrown together within the verse. The same position of the verbs without chiasmus appears also,

especially when the opening verb is brought over from the preceding verse. Infinitives are so balanced in

- I. 130 praedarique lupos iussit pontumque moveri
 III. 191 carpere mox gyrum incipiat gradibusque sonare.

Thus the vivid present tenses of description are placed,

- III. 232 et temptat sese atque irasci in cornua discit
 II. 503 sollicitant alii remis freta caeca, ruuntque
 IV. 256 exportant tectis et tristia funera ducunt . . .

(Compare III. 375. IV. 57, 104, 157, 172, 196, 202, 311, 456.)

But there is no restriction on the tense or mode, subjunctives, perfect indicatives, especially the shortened forms, (III. 378, IV. 204) and gerundives being freely used. (Compare I. 149, 350, 419; II. 62, 166, 366, 371, 418, 477; III. 137.) Sometimes the same arrangement is made for the clause, though another word opens the verse, I. 479,

infandum! sistunt amnes terraeque dehiscunt,

a repetition of the same device shown in the participles of the preceding verse,

. . . et simulacra modis pallentia miris
 visa sub obscurum noctis, pecudesque locutae.

As is to be expected, the verbs so placed are generally picturesque ones. There seems to be no case of *esse*, *habere*, *venire*, *ire*, though *det* and *dicat* of I. 350

quam Cereri torta redimitus tempora quercu
 det motus incompositos et carmina dicat

are colorless enough. Colorless also are *stat* and *dicit* of IV. 356

tristis Aristaeus Penei genitoris ad undam
 stat lacrimans, et te crudelem nomine dicit.

So, too, is one of the pair in IV. 402

cum sitiunt herbae et pecori iam gratior umbra est.

This balance is but carried a step further when the construction runs over two verses, and one opens and the other closes with a verb.

So II. 51-2

exuerint silvestrem animum, cultuque frequent
in quascumque voles artis haud tarda sequentur.

II. 510-11 corripuit; gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum,
exsilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant

is essentially the same, despite the opening *corripuit* brought over from the preceding verse with heightened effect for the preceding clause. Note also II. 294-5 quoted above and IV. 19-20

at liquidi fontes et stagna virentia musco
adsint et tenuis fugiens per gramina rivus,
palmaque vestibulum aut ingens oleaster inumbret.

Sometimes by opening consecutive verses with verbs attention is caught, and the same thing is true of closing consecutive verses with them, though this is not so frequent an arrangement as the preceding. Thus are placed *vidi* and *degenerare* of I. 197-8

vidi lecta diu et multo spectata labore
degenerare tamen, ni vis humana quotannis . . .

Note also the three verses I. 418-20

verum ubi tempestas et caeli mobilis umor
mutavere vices et Iuppiter uvidus Austris
denset erant quae rara modo, et quae densa relaxat,
vertuntur species animorum et pectora motus
nunc alios, alios dum nubila ventus agebat,
concipiunt:

and the closing verses of the first book, 513-4

addunt in spatio, et frustra retinacula tendens
fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas.

(Compare II. 81-2, 330-1; III. 433-4, 446-7, 458-9; IV. 162-4, 330-1.) Examples of consecutive verses ending with verbs are

- I. 300-1 frigorigibus parto agricolae plerumque fruuntur
 mutuaeque inter se laeti convivia curant,
- II. 479-80 unde tremor terris, qua vi maria alta tumescant
 obicibus ruptis rursusque in se ipsa resident,
- IV. 237-8 morsibus inspirant, et spicula caeca relinquant
 affixae venis, animasque in vulnere ponunt.

(Compare I. 195-6; II. 266-8, 407-9; III. 501-2; IV. 225-6, 504-5, 545-6.)

There are found verses one of which opens with a verb, while the other both opens and closes with verbs, or where the verse with two verbs comes first and the second closes with one, as,

II. 218-9 *quae tenuem exhalat nebulam fumosque volucris,
et bibit umorem et, cum vult, ex se ipsa remittit,*

IV. 514-5 *flet noctem, ramoque sedens miserabile carmen
integrat, et maestis late loca questibus implet.*

(Compare I. 148-9; III. 232-3; IV. 103-4.) Sometimes the arrangement is varied by an intervening verse with no verb, or with a verb within the verse, as,

III. 551-3 *saevit et in lucem Stygiis emissa tenebris
pallida Tisiphone Morbos agit ante Metumque,
inque dies avidum surgens caput altius effert.*

368-70 *intereunt pecudes, stant circumfusa pruinis
corpora magna boum, confertoque agmine cervi
torpent mole nova et summis vix cornibus exstant.*

IV. 51-4 shows four verses balanced in pairs with closing verbs,

*quod superest, ubi pulsam hiemem Sol aureus egit
sub terras caelumque aestiva luce reclusit,
illae continuo saltus silvasque peragrant
purpureosque metunt flores et flumina libant.*

In comparison, however, with the elaborate interweaving of substantives and attributes, the cases of rhetorical manipulation of the verb are few. Despite the genius of the Latin language for descriptive verbs, such a poem as the *Georgics* would naturally depend more upon the nouns and adjectives for color and richness of effect. The things Vergil is talking of need to be raised to an unwonted dignity and liveliness, and there is more flexibility for shades of meaning in substantive and attribute than in a verb. Note the proportion of substantive with or without attribute to corresponding

verb in the expressions for a few ideas of frequent occurrence. *Cursus* occurs eight times, *currere* four times (three times as participle used as adjective); *aratrum*, thirteen times, *arator*, four times, *arare*, four times; *semen*, eleven times, *serere* as verb, twelve times (as substantive the participle appears ten times); *labor*, thirty-four times, *laborare*, once (the participle is used as substantive).

For the position of words regardless of verse structure the principles of likeness or contrast in the thought often seem to be the guide. Frequently one word borrows reflected quality from its neighbor, though the neighbor may be construed with an entirely different word in the sentence. If Herbert Spencer's reasoning, quoted above (p. 26) with regard to the position of noun and adjective, is correct, such interweaving of impressions in any language where the structure is periodic to the extent that it is in Latin is imperative. When once this fact is grasped, the writer has at hand a means for all sorts of subtle shading and enriching of an impression beyond the inherent meaning of his words and their grammatical connection in the sentence. While the mind is holding qualities and concepts in suspension, the reflected light of one upon another will largely create the atmosphere of the picture. So *atritus* and *splendescere* side by side heighten the impression of gleam in I. 46

ingemere, et sulco atritus splendescere vomer.

In *sol aureus astra* (I. 232) the juxtaposition of *aureus* and *astra* sheds a golden light on the twelve constellations through which the sun moves, as *nigrum* and *obscurum* in I. 428

si nigrum obscurum comprehenderit aëra cornu

serve to reinforce the darkness of the sky and the mistiness of the crescent.

Munera and *supplex* (IV. 534) have a natural attraction for each other in the ideas of Roman religion. So the adjectives

of size tend to come together by likeness, as in IV. 366 *omnia per magna*, 560 *magnus ad altum*, III. 238 *longius ex altoque*; adjectives of similar meaning come together, as in IV. 337 *nitidam per candida*, 425 *torrens sitientis*, II. 264 *labefacta movens*, 341 *progenies duris*, recalling the *durum genus* of I. 63.

In II. 430 this principle of likeness leads one on through all the verse *sanguineisque inculta rubent aviaria bacis* with the ideas of blood, roughness, the birds' glen turned red, until the surprising significance is seen in *bacis*, and the picture is a forest stretch aglow with brilliant berries, instead of the wild and gory scene the mind was preparing. So in IV. 17

ore ferunt dulcem nidis immitibus escam

there is a feeling of tenderness through *dulcem nidis*, the ideas of sweetness and youth joining through this same principle of likeness, and it is a surprise to meet the following *immitibus*. The new turn at the end partakes of the nature of contrast, but the position of the words is not governed by that principle, else *dulcem* and *immitibus* would stand side by side, and the illuminating surprise of the picture would be lost.

To multiply examples of position from likeness would be easy, but useless. Some one hundred and sixty have been noted throughout the poem, while only about eighty cases of position by contrast have been discovered.⁶⁰

I. 31 teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis

shows two cases of contrast in the placing of *te*, *sibi* and *generum*, *Tethys*, though according to Leo's account (op. cit., p. 432) the tendency of like parts of speech toward each other might account for it here, as often elsewhere. That very tendency, however, must have some mental connection behind it, and this investigation of arrangement by likeness or

⁶⁰ For examples of position by likeness compare I. 43, 114, 146, 186, 301, 412, 480; II. 71, 111, 198, 362, 461, 508; III. 14, 47, 161, 185, 205, 366, 391, 422; IV. 79, 93, 133, 402, 438, et passim. For position by contrast compare I. 32, 70, 91, 208, 224; II. 19, 199, 370, 496; III. 31, 124, 153, 162, 356, 437, 510, 551; IV. 85, 190, 263, 302, 332, et passim.

contrast shows that often those principles are the underlying cause of the tendency. Pronouns, for example, come together (the case noted chiefly by Leo for early Latin⁶¹), but pronouns represent parties to an action in less vivid form than their substantives would, and the contrast of the one with the other is all the more valuable because of the lack of vividness. If this was the origin of the use that spread to nouns and adjectives and even to verbs (IV. 172 *accipiunt redduntque*) when once its force had been realized, a large part of the elaboration of word placing would seem to be due to the working of these two principles.

A comparison with the usage of Horace is somewhat enlightening as to one quality of Vergil's style. H. Eggers, in a dissertation on Horace,⁶² notes some sixty-seven cases of striking juxtaposition by contrast, without claiming that his examples are exhaustive at all. The use of contrast gives a sort of brilliance and sparkle to style, the contrasted words being, as it were, the facets of an elaborately cut stone, and this brilliance one gets in Horace to a striking extent, while in Vergil it is harmony and the gentle flow of exquisitely fitted ideas that give his poetry—the Georgics, at least—such a subtle charm. Whether Horace's metres, with the shorter verses in which there is less room for the rounding out of an idea, taught him to depend more upon the bold arresting strokes of contrast, or whether a difference in the nature of the two men lay behind these varying tendencies toward brilliancy or toward harmony it might be difficult to determine. What we know of Vergil's disposition, his way of life and his tastes, and what we see in his poems would lead one to say that there was in him an innate love of harmony, governing both life and work. The monotonous brilliancy of Pope's frequent antitheses would have been impossible to him.

⁶¹ See above, pp. 36, 37.

⁶² H. Eggers, *De ordine et figuris verborum quibus Horatius in carminibus usus est*, pp. 54-5.

III

EUPHONIC DEVICES

First to be discussed under the head of euphonic devices is alliteration, as probably the most obvious form, and certainly that most commented on. In Latin it is traced back for its origin to the earliest forms of the literature, the fragments of chants, inscriptions and proverbs.⁶³ Saturnian verse, in the fragments that have survived, shows alliteration in more than half the number of verses.⁶⁴ In the early poets, however, such as Ennius, Plautus and Terence, its use, while more cumulative, is not so frequent. Bötticher speaks of a steady decrease in its use as literature developed,⁶⁵ but even in its decrease it is much in evidence in Lucretius⁶⁶ and in Catullus,⁶⁷ while Propertius is as greatly given to the practice as any Latin poet later than the early period.⁶⁸ Vergil's extensive use of alliteration in the Aeneid is discussed by Kvičala, and "die imponirend grosse Zahl dieser Fälle am besten geeignet ist jeden etwaigen Zweifel zu beiseitigen."⁶⁹

It remains to add cases of occurrence in the Georgics, and to show the skill rather than the frequency of its use. In the following study alliteration has been used to designate the use of an identical initial sound, whether it be consonant or

⁶³ E. Wölfflin, *Über die alliterierenden Verbindungen d. lat. Spr.*, 29. He finds its origin in prose, set formulas and proverbs.

⁶⁴ C. Bötticher, *De alliterationis apud Romanos vi et usu*, p. 11.

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁶⁶ Ignaz Schneider, *De alliterationis apud T. Lucretium Carum usu ac vi*.

⁶⁷ Ziwsa, *Die eurhythmische Technik des Catullus*, pp. 5-19.

⁶⁸ B. O. Foster, *On Certain Euphonic Embellishments in the Verse of Propertius*, T. A. P. A., Vol. 40, p. 62.

⁶⁹ Kvičala, *Neue Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aeneis nebst mehreren Excursen und Abhandlungen*, pp. 293-447.

vowel. An initial sound echoed again within its own word, or within another, is often noted for its effect upon the melody of a passage, but the case has not been counted in the examples of alliteration. This stylistic means is independent of Alexandrianism, and in Vergil's use of it there is additional proof that he was no blind devotee of a school, but that as a workman who knew the value and the limitations of his tools he was ready to avail himself of them, so far as they contributed to the artistic expression of his thought.

His most striking characteristic in the use of alliteration is the subtlety of the sound repetition. Several words in succession beginning with the same letter are rare, the *Georgics* furnishing but twenty-two cases in the whole poem of two thousand, one hundred and eight-eight verses. The first book furnishes

389 et sola in sicca secum spatiat harena
405 et pro purpureo poenas dat Scylla capillo.

Both examples occur in elaborate passages, verse 389 belonging to an onomatopoeic description of the crow.

In some verses alliteration serves with other euphonic means to buttress a weighty thought, as,

II. 294-5 convellunt: immota manet multosque nepotes
 multa virum volvens durando saecula vincit.

Note also

II. 425 hoc pinguem et placitam Paci nutritor olivam
III. 40 interea Dryadum silvas saltusque sequamur
IV. 351 obstipuerunt; sed ante alias Arethusa sorores.⁷⁰

When such examples are contrasted with instances that show three, four, or more words in alliteration, as they are found in Plautus, Terence and Ennius the change in taste between these poets and Vergil is striking. From the early poets note the following examples: Plaut., *Mil.* 226 reperi,

⁷⁰ Compare II. 436, 452-3; III. 65, 109, 182, 203, 344, 362, 543; IV. 208, 218, 392, 420, 432.

comminiscere, cedo calidum consilium cito;⁷¹ Aul. 279 nam ecastor malum maerore metuo ne mixtum bibam; Enn., Ann. 33 accipe daque fidem foedusque feri bene firmum; Ann. 113 O Tite tute Tati tibi tanta tyranne tulisti; Ann. 9 quae cava corpore caeruleo cortina receptat; Enn., Trag. 41 mater optumarum multo mulier melior mulierum;⁷² Ter. Andr. 671 nisi si id putas, quia primo processit parum tibi non posse iam ad salutem convorti hoc malum; Adelph. 133-4 si istuc placet, profundat, perdat, pereat, nil ad me attinet; Eun. 780 Solus Sannio servat domi; 613-4 et de istac simul, quo pacto porro possim potiri, consilium volo capere una tecum.⁷³ Even in Lucretius verses with three consecutive words showing alliteration are not rare. The first book of the *De Rerum Natura* has twenty-nine cases.⁷⁴

There are verses which show three words beginning with the same sound when no two are consecutive. This is a still less obtrusive repetition, and it gives to the verse as a whole a freer and more flowing melody.

- | | |
|----------|--|
| II. 154 | squameus in spiram tractu se colligit anguis |
| III. 360 | concrescunt subitae currenti in flumine crustae |
| III. 346 | non secus ac patriis acer Romanus in armis |
| IV. 332 | tanta meae si te ceperunt taedia laudis. ⁷⁵ |

Sometimes the repetition is spread over two verses, just as in clause structure Vergil frequently runs over the verse-end, as,

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| IV. 333-4 | At mater sonitum thalamo sub fluminis alti
sensit. |
| 502-3 | dicere praeterea vidit; nec portitor Orci
amplius obiectam passus transire paludem |

⁷¹ For alliteration in *Miles* see Richard Klotz, *Zur Allit. u. Symmetrie bei T. M. Plautus*.

⁷² Quoted by Bötticher, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-5.

⁷³ Quoted by A. F. Naek, *De allit. serm. Lat.*, Rhein. Mus. 3. p. 361.

⁷⁴ I. 14, 24, 28, 86, 89, 131, 163, 200, 202, 229, 234, 257, 271, 341, 411, 483, 521, 529, 586, 605, 677, 681, 725, 726, 735, 794, 813, 900, 1024. Cf. also II. 116, 130, 582, 654; III. 144, 456, 482, 747, 1040; IV. 394, 902; V. 961, 1193; VI. 115, 213, 719-20, and Ignaz Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

⁷⁵ Compare I. 14, 200, 263, 424; II. 159, 276, 362; III. 185, 369, 372; IV. 91, 122, 181, 435, 453.

- III. 425-6 est etiam ille malus Calabris in saltibus anguis
squamea convolvens sublato pectore terga.

Alliterative phrases of two words in sequence, or connected by one of the short conjunctions, are frequent in the Georgics. So much seemed pleasing to Vergil's ear, and he was even willing to echo this same sound further on in the verse, or to use the sound once and repeat it in a phrase of two words later. Naturally the effect of this division is a harmony less obtrusive, but more pleasing than the bolder repetition of the words in succession. Note, as examples,

- I. 76 sustuleris fragilis calamos silvamque sonantem
II. 292 aetherias tantum radice in Tartara tendit
II. 498 non res Romanae perituraque regna; neque ille
IV. 225 scilicet huc reddi deinde ac resoluta referri⁷⁶
IV. 498 invalidasque tibi tendens, heu non tua, palmas.⁷⁷

The opening sound most often repeated in the phrases of two words is *a* (24 times).⁷⁸ Phrases beginning with *c* and *s* are next in order of occurrence, then those beginning with *p*, *m*, *v*, *t*, *f*, *e*, *i*, *n*, *l*, *d*. Phrases beginning with *g*, *o*, *r*, *u* also occur, once each, but there are no alliterative phrases beginning with *b* or consonantal *i*. The absence of the last two is not surprising in view of the relatively few Latin words that begin with those sounds; and in the case of *b* we are justified in inferring that the sound was not considered pleasant or elegant from the notions the ancients attached to *baba*, *balbus*, *barbarus*. The onomatopoetic character of the root is traced back through the kindred Greek *βαβαί*, *βάρβαρος*, to the Sanskrit *barbarah*, always representing unintelligible or unpleasant sounds.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Compare De Rerum Natura, II. 130 Commutare vitam retroque repulsa reverti.

⁷⁷ Compare I. 59, 68, 93, 141, 145, 152, 221, 227, 234, 240, 313, 314, 324, 329, 336, 357-8, 439, 454, 500; II. 19, 47, 57, 103-4, 215, 247, 309, 330, 334, 377, 479; III. 20, 34, 109, 141, 160, 213, 217-8, 306-7, 327-8, 329, 356, 483, 505; IV. 25, 64, 281, 301-2, 310, 311, 314, 319, 330, 346-7, 368, 378-9, 409-10, 560.

⁷⁸ I. 47, 129, 160, 240, 273, 338; II. 76, 280, 330, 465, 492; III. 18, 46, 197, 210, 304, 315, 439, 533; IV. 44, 83, 110, 177, 244.

⁷⁹ A. Walde, Latein. etymol. Wörterbuch, 2te Auflage, s. vv.; Emile Boisacq, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, s. vv.

It is possible that alliteration as a means for catching the attention may serve to indicate grammatical connection between two words, as in *avari agricolae* (I. 47-8), or *nimborum in nocte* (I. 328). Frequently it seems to produce a rhetorical effect, as when *arduus* by its position and alliteration with *arces* (I. 240) gives the idea of steepness to the Rhiphaean heights, as well as that of loftiness to the heavens above. Oftenest the repetition is for the sake of the sound, if not exclusively, yet paramountly. Particularly dangerous is the assumption of grammatical connection marked by alliteration, because naturally the words occurring in a verse are connected grammatically, and almost any two that alliterate may be referred to this cause. Consequently, in general, cases of noun and adjective, or verb and subject, or verb and object, or subject and object in alliteration have not been referred to this class. If noun and adjective are separated at any length, the attention caught by their alliteration will serve to bring them together, but, if they are side by side, as in these short phrases, no such need is felt. Besides, in a richly inflected language grammatical connection is so abundantly taken care of that one should be slow in referring a euphonic device to this cause. For the very reason that one would not look to this agreement in sound for grammatical connection, the prominence of the words so secured may the more readily serve a rhetorical end, and examples of this are more frequent. One word sheds a reflected light on the other, as in the juxtaposed *arduus arces* quoted above,⁸⁰ or the two so brought forward in consciousness are contrasted, as in *agitator aselli* (I. 273)

saepe oleo tardi costas agitator aselli
vilibus aut onerat pomis

or, *convivia curant* in I. 301

mutuaque inter se laeti convivia curant⁸¹. . .

⁸⁰ Compare I. 51, 232, 320, 373; II. 169, 309, 376, 417, 511; III. 114; IV. 99.

⁸¹ Compare II. 111, 253, 297, 419, 509; III. 240, 315, 431; IV. 83.

Dulces and *densae* of I. 342

tum somni dulces densaeque in montibus umbrae

by their alliteration and position rhetorically bring the sleep and shade into closer union, and tend to make both adjectives go with both nouns. Most alliterative phrases, however, seem to exist for the pleasure in the sound, and one is tempted to call some cases accidental, despite the acknowledged minimum place of the accidental in the Georgics. The most that can be said for such examples as II. 427-8

et viris habuere suas, ad sidera raptim
vi propria nituntur opisque haud indiga nostrae.

is that the alliteration between *suas* and *sidera* did not offend the poet's ear. It certainly does not seem deliberately sought. Such is the case with *tamen tellus* in II. 418

sollicitanda tamen tellus pulvisque movendus,

nec non in II. 385, 451 and *nam neque* in I. 395.⁸²

Such pairs open or close the verse, or occupy an internal position therein, being most frequent within the verse and rarest at the beginning.⁸³ This is worthy of note in view of Kvičala's elaborate treatment of alliteration at the verse-end in the Aeneid.⁸⁴ Schneider in his treatment of Lucretius' use of alliteration finds likewise that the position within the verse is most frequent, and the words in alliteration oftenest have the caesura fall between them.⁸⁵

A form of alliteration still more in favor with Vergil is the combining of alliterative pairs, much as two nouns and two

⁸² Compare I. 111, 338, 438; II. 226, 331, 397, 434; III. 274, 363, 416, 533, 556; IV. 42, 110, 116, 174, 244.

⁸³ Bk. I. within 18, opening 7, closing 10.

Bk. II. 42 7 14.

Bk. III. 42 5 9.

Bk. IV. 44 7 11.

⁸⁴ Kvičala, op. cit., pp. 333ff.

⁸⁵ Schneider, op. cit., p. 6.

adjectives are combined within a verse. A pair of words with the same initial sound is followed by another pair, or, if the pairs are broken, the sounds follow in the same order, or reversed. There are verses like

- I. 354 quo signo caderent Austri, quid saepe videntes,
 I. 236 caeruleae, glacie concretae atque imbribus atris,
 I. 346 omnis quam chorus et socii comitentur ovantes,
 IV. 8 principio sedes apibus statioque petenda.

There seems to be no preference for one combination over another. Sometimes one sound will occur three times and the other twice, as

- II. 130 auxilium venit ac membris agit atra venena
 IV. 113 tecta serat late circum cui talia curae
 I. 173 binae aures, duplici aptantur dentalia dorso
 III. 101 praecipue: hinc alias artis prolemque parentum.⁸⁶

Sometimes a verse has three sounds, each occurring as often as twice, as,

- I. 123 movit agros curis acuens mortalia corda
 I. 203 atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alveus amni
 III. 248 per silvas: tum saevus aper, tum pessima tigris.⁸⁷

This naturally leads to the cases where one or more sounds are "run" for more than one verse, as,

- I. 217-8 candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum
 Taurus et averso cedens Canis occidit astro
 I. 303-4 ceu pressae cum iam portum tetigere carinae
 puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas
 I. 402-3 solis et occasum servans de culmine summo
 nequiquam seros exercet noctua cantus.⁸⁸

More elaborate still is the interweaving of the sounds in

- II. 380-4 non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
 caeditur et veteres ineunt proscaenia ludi
 praemiaque ingeniis pagos et compita circum
 Thesidae posuere, atque inter pocula laeti
 mollibus in pratis unctos saluere per utres.

⁸⁶ Compare I. 305; II. 2, 100, 219, 480; III. 376, 434, 458; IV. 113, 187, 245, 541.

⁸⁷ Compare I. 206; II. 14, 380; III. 448, 486; IV. 66, 148, 258.

⁸⁸ Compare I. 326-7, 361-2; III. 52-3, 79-80, 205-6, 297-8; IV. 150-1, 409-10.

Here the repeated sounds are *a, o, c, c, o, a, c, e, i, p, l, p, i, p, e, c, c, p, a, i, p, l, i, p, u, p, u*: *a, o, c*, prominent in the first part, give way to *p*—though *c* has a double echo at the end of the second verse—and the lighter vowels *e* and *i*. An echoed *l* is introduced, and the *a* sound again, until the last verse closes with the heavy vowel *u* joined with *p* “golden-line-wise with an *s* to keep the peace betwixt them.” Compare

III. 199–201 *lenibus horrescunt flabris, summaeque sonorem*
dant silvae, longique urgent ad litora fluctus,
ille volet simul arva fuga simul aequora verrens

where the repeated sounds are *l, f, s, s, s, l, a, l, f, v, s, a, f, s, v*: *l* and *s* dominate at first, but with *f* occurring once, then *l* giving way, *f* reappearing, *s* growing weaker and a new sound *v* appearing at the end of the passage, as the *u* did in the preceding instance. There are 169 cases in the *Georgics* of such alliterative pairs,⁸⁹ and because of the interlocked order and the separation of elements that are to be taken together grammatically there is here more occasion to note the tendency of alliteration to connect such elements,⁹⁰ although, in view of the great number of cases where no such connection is discernible, one is inclined to call Vergil’s use of this means small.

Of the two pairs one is rather frequently noun and attribute, but the other pair may be verb and some adjective, conjunction or adverb; or verb and noun no more closely connected

⁸⁹ I. 73, 116, 123, 142, 160, 189, 193, 201, 203, 206, 217, 218, 233, 236, 243, 257, 267, 268, 298, 300, 303–4, 305, 326–7, 330, 335, 343, 346, 349, 354, 361–2, 365, 388, 394, 402–3, 421, 422, 433, 461, 469, 485, 491, 501, 508; II. 2, 14, 26, 33, 41, 50, 53, 100, 102, 126, 130, 139, 148, 172, 219, 268, 277, 315, 327, 380, 402, 420, 440, 441, 450, 470, 495, 500, 512; III. 1, 16, 52–3, 62, 64, 79–80, 101, 117, 119, 143, 149, 171, 180, 184, 205–6, 208, 239, 248, 252, 260, 286, 290, 291–2, 297–8, 311, 319, 342, 345, 350, 371, 376, 381, 393, 424, 434, 448, 458, 473, 478, 486, 488, 490, 494, 506, 546, 551, 552; IV. 8, 27, 38, 45, 47, 54–5, 66, 73, 100, 102, 113, 131, 147, 148, 150–1, 161, 162, 165, 167, 168, 173, 179, 185, 187, 192, 197, 198, 232, 238, 245, 260, 297, 308, 342, 362, 364, 374–5, 385, 409–10, 429, 439, 443, 465–6, 504, 505, 515, 520, 532, 537, 541.

⁹⁰ Compare p. 52.

grammatically than the verb with the other pair. So II. 172

imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum,

in view of the separation of noun and adjective may rely somewhat on alliteration to bring them together.⁹¹ III. 458

cum furit atque artus depascitur arida febris

shows the verb and subject at verse ends in alliteration, while the attribute of the subject alliterates with the object, to which it really belongs, being a transferred epithet. The effect is a very closely knit sentence, but this is only one case, and from the nature of the discussion even a good many cases could hardly prove that such connection was meant by the author. Sound is much more probably the cause of the alliteration because that can hardly fail to catch the ear of any reader. In this connection it is well to recall the extent to which the ancients read aloud. In addition to the *recitationes* that had become so burdensome in Juvenal's time,⁹² a man was commonly read to by his slave,⁹³ and some men, indeed, were very particular about proper pronunciation on the part of the reader.⁹⁴ The rapid eye reading that has become customary with us we have every reason to believe played a much smaller part in ancient times. The sound of words, when it was beautiful, was surely not missed by the ancients. Parallelism of construction is to be noticed in III. 208

verbera lenta pati et duris parere lupatis

between the alliterative infinitives, and a certain rhetorical contrast may be got from *lenta* applied to the yielding close-lying lash and *lupatis*, the spiked curb that does not yield. The more obvious coupling would have joined the two adjectives, but the definite meaning of the noun really incorporates an adjective. II. 41

Maecenas, pelagoque volans da vela patenti

⁹¹ Compare I. 73, 193; II. 41, 50, 268, 440; IV. 45.

⁹² Sat. 1. 1-14; 7. 39-42.

⁹³ Norden, *Kunstprosa*, p. 6.

⁹⁴ Pliny, *Epp.* 3. 5. 12.

shows grammatical connection between noun and attribute, and again a rhetorical pregnancy in *volans, vela*, where the thought of flying draws the picture of the ship's sails as wings. In I. 116

exit et obducto late tenet omnia limo

the notion of the sticky pervasiveness of the mud may be brought out more fully in the cross alliteration of *obducto* and *omnia*, and of *limo* and *late*, an adverb which in sense is really equivalent to an adjective modifying *omnia*.

All such interpretations, however, are more enticing than convincing. Pleasure in the repetition of sound is a surer basis of discussion, and the only one in the great majority of cases.

In summing up Vergil's use of alliteration in the Georgics one would note his evident pleasure in the repetition of sound, especially of *a, s, c, p, t* and others in less proportion; his large use of alliterative phrases of two words and of alliterative pairs of words, then of one pair together echoed again by a single sound, and lastly, his very moderate use of three consecutive words in alliteration. Several sounds interwoven, echoed sufficiently, however, to make one conscious of the play, are more in accordance with the harmonious and rather subtle art of the poet than the bolder and more obvious repetitions.

Closely akin to the "running" of an initial letter is the assonance of the vowel sounds in a phrase, or sometimes throughout a whole verse. Such are *mortalia corda* (I. 123), *annua cura* (I. 216), *luminis ignis* (I. 291), *aperta serena* (I. 393), *illi etiam extincto* (increased by elision I. 466), *densissima silva* (II. 17), *firmissima vina* (II. 97), *victor in oris* (II. 171), *neve flagella* (II. 299), *genitalia semina* (II. 324), *aviaria bacis* (II. 430), *spirantia signa* (III. 34), *viribus ignis* (III. 99), *armenta per herbas* (III. 162), *Cressamque pharetram* (III. 345), *horrebis Hiberos* (III. 408), *nigrumque*

bitumen (III. 451), *desertaque regna* (III. 476), *haustu sparsus aquarum* (IV. 229), *nectare Vestam* (IV. 384), *portitor Orci* (IV. 502), *ignobilis oti* (IV. 564).⁹⁵

The opening verse of the third book shows in addition to the alliterative pairs beginning with *m* and *t*, *e*, *o*, *a* as the only vowels of the line until the last syllable is reached

Te quoque, magna Pales, et te, memorande, canemus.

So in IV. 13, *absint et picti squalentia terga lacerti*, though there is no alliteration, the vowels *a*, *i*, *e*, run throughout the line. A most striking case of the use of light vowels repeatedly is in the passage IV. 465-6

te, dulcis coniunx, te solo in litore secum,
te veniente die, te decedente canebat.

They have interspersed in the first verse the deeper notes of *u* and *o*, but the second shows *i* and *e* throughout until the last word. The sharp *i* and *e* sounds seem peculiarly insistent. Recall the verse giving the frog's cry, I. 378

et veterem in limo ranae cecinere querellam

and the *densissimus imber* (I. 333), which makes the climax of the storm scene. The very name *Eurydicen* seems to have the same quality in it as it occurs in IV. 525-7

volveret, Eurydicen vox ipsa et frigida lingua
a miseram Eurydicen! anima fugiente vocabat:
Eurydicen toto referebant flumine ripae.

Discussing the effect of the *e* sound run Professor Foster notes few cases in Propertius,⁹⁶ "owing, doubtless, rather to the paucity of long *e* sounds than to a dislike of the vowel, for *i*, which is even less musical, in the opinion of

⁹⁵ Compare I. 88, 143, 220, 235, 249, 250, 263, 270, 289, 309, 333, 341, 365, 376, 378, 419, 426, 493, 498; II. 12, 46, 82, 84, 115, 144, 209, 236, 293, 276, 303, 373, 431, 464; III. 12, 151, 175, 229, 231, 260, 333, 336, 373, 377, 475, 522; IV. 17, 23, 82, 85, 90, 108, 115, 129, 135, 142, 174, 190, 212, 219, 249, 264, 284, 296, 386, 404, 407, 438, 457, 469, 484, 499.

⁹⁶ Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

the ancients (Diony. Hal. Comp. Verb. 14, ranks the vowels $\alpha \eta \omega \upsilon$), as in our own, was frequently 'run.'” He notes three *e* lines, in two of which he suggests that there is perhaps an attempt to imitate the querulous tones of the speaker:

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| I. 3. 43 | interdum leviter mecum deserta querebar |
| 1. 16. 23 | me mediae noctes, me sidera plena iacentem |
| 2. 20. 29 | tum me vel tragicae vexetis Erinyes, et me. |

He cites some twenty-three lines where *i* is run, and calls them only a sample. Lüdke notes for Ovid likewise the effect of the *ae* and *e* sounds,⁹⁷ which he groups together; he says they are used in expressions of sorrow, mourning, longing, uncertainty and fear. He notes many examples, among them M. I. 707-8,

Dumque ibi suspirat, motos in harundine ventos
effecisse sonum tenuem similemque querenti.

Onomatopoeia is usually the result of all sorts of sound correspondence and repetition, involving the consonants within a word as well as the vowels and the initial sound. In addition to the running of the *e*, the verse of Vergil noted above (p. 58) as descriptive of the frog's cry is onomatopoetic as well in the *c*, *qu* and *r* sounds. *Siliqua quassante* (I. 74) depends both on the *s* and *qu* and upon the rise in sound from the light vowel *i* to the heavy *a* and the fall again to the light *e*, to give the dry fluttering of the pea-pod in the wind. *Lupis ululantibus urbes* (I. 486) owes its sound correspondence not merely to the more obvious *u* and *l*, but in some part to the change from the sharper *p* to the more muffled *b* sound, and its dying away with the light vowel.

- | | |
|----------|--|
| IV. 71-2 | Martius ille aeris rauci canor increpat, et vox
auditur fractos sonitus imitata tubarum |
|----------|--|

does imitate the sound of the trumpet by means of the harshness of *r* and *c*, and the preponderance of heavy vowels, aided by the unmusical ending *et vox*⁹⁸ of the first verse, and by the

⁹⁷ Lüdke, *Über Lautmalerei in Ovids Metamorphosen*.

⁹⁸ See footnote, p. 70.

same note in *fractos*, whence the verse goes on more musically with only an echo of the harshness in *tubarum*.

I. 388-9 tum cornix plena pluvium vocat improba voce
et sola in sicca secum spatiatur harena

is probably the most strikingly onomatopoetic passage in the whole poem. Again heavy vowels, and *c*, *t*, *r*, give a hoarseness of sound softened to a kind of music by the *pl*, while the unusual amount of alliteration of *s* in the following verse and the opening spondees correspond to the measured soft crush of the crow's feet on the sand. The four verses I. 356-9

continuo ventis surgentibus aut freta ponti
incipiunt agitata tumescere et aridus altis
montibus audiri fragor, aut resonantia longe
litora misceri et nemorum increbrescere murmur

show repetition and variation both, and a final climax of sound in the heavy *m*'s and *u*'s. The passage is descriptive of sound; five different noises are represented, the rising wind, the swell of the sea, the dry clatter among the leaves on the mountains, and the echo of shore mingling with the murmuring of the woods. *Ventis surgentibus* has an assonance, though it is not so striking; *t* is the repeated sound in the next phrase, around which the varying and indistinct sounds of rising waters cling; while the alliterative *a* holds the following phrase together. Then the liquids and nasals are used for the mighty resulting sounds on sea and woods, the inherent weight of sound in *murmur* making an effective climax. To be noted also is the *-scere* or *-sceri*, which has something of the light, rough sound of sea foam.

There are verses which, though not onomatopoetic, are to be noted for their music. I. 28

accipiat cingens materna tempora myrto

ows its melody, perhaps, to the vowel sequence, in which *a* remains through the verse, with repeated *i*, then *e*, then *o*,

and to the varying positions of *m* and *t* in the last three words.

III. 338

litoraue alcyonen resonant acalanthida dumi

has more liquids than most verses, and the first word shows all the vowels that are played on throughout the rest of the verse, which ends with the light *i* with which it began. To a taste sensitive to these subtler and less obvious harmonies is due the elusive music of Vergil's verse.

The union of repetition for sound's sake and for rhetorical balance and connection is met in the use of the same stem, or of the same ending and enclitic, or of the same word twice or more. The same stem is repeated in

- I. 463 *sol tibi signa dabit. Solem quis dicere falsum*
 II. 275 *densa sere: in denso non segnior ubere Bacchus*
 IV. 6 *in tenui labor; at tenuis non gloria, si quem*⁹⁹ . . .

The repetition of an ending and the enclitic *-que*, or of the enclitic alone is much in favor and cases are numerous:

- I. 153 *lappaeque tribolique interque nitentia culta*
 I. 279 *Coeumque Iapetumque creat saevumque Typhoea*
 II. 494 *Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores*
 III. 242 *Omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque*

(where the *-que* makes the verse hypermetric).¹⁰⁰

When whole words are repeated they are oftenest conjunctions, adverbs and numerals. In the case of conjunctions rhetorical balance is usually the most prominent result, but considerations of sound must enter in; at least, the combination must not have been unpleasant to the poet's ear. Repetition of *aut*, *et*, *atque*, *cum*, *seu* or *sive*, *nec* or *neque* are frequent.¹⁰¹ Likewise adverbs, as *non*, *etiam*, *iamque*, *ante*, *magis*, *nunc*, *tum*, *semper*, *bis*, *hinc* are repeated rather freely

⁹⁹ Compare I. 190, 419; II. 61, 109, 327; III. 112, 118, 393; IV. 209, 215.

¹⁰⁰ Compare I. 118, 253, 352, 371, 458, 470; II. 21, 391, 399, 456, 470, 509; III. 108, 344, 345, 451, 473, 555; IV. 182, 222, 318, 336, 367, 370, 442.

¹⁰¹ Compare I. 314, 332, 370; II. 100, 196, 298-9, 308, 348, 435, 516-7; III. 49-50, 110, 133, 211, 212, 252, 353, 358, 560; IV. 5, 25, 33, 84-5, 167, 245-6, 257-8, 401-2.

for balance or emphasis.¹⁰² Of words of more natural strength there are also cases of repetition, nouns and adjectives rather than verbs. *Iuvat* (II. 437-8) and *dant* (II. 442) are the only verb forms that occur in exact repetition. *Densa* and *denset* (I. 419) and *relatum* and *referet* (I. 458) involve repetitions of stem. Adjectives of size and number occur (*centum*, II. 43, IV. 383; *magna*, II. 173-4, 327; *summa*, II. 300; *omnibus*, II. 61, 109, IV. 184; *quattuor*, IV. 297-8; *ambae*, IV. 341-2; *tantus*, III. 112), but few of quality (*nudus*, I. 299; *densa*, II. 275; *aequus*, III. 118; *tenuis*, IV. 6; *dulcia*, IV. 101). Repetition of a noun appears occasionally, as the *nocte* of I. 289 followed by another case of the same word in the next verse; compare also *ventus*, *vento* of I. 431. I. 297-8

at rubicunda Ceres medio succiditur aestu,
et medio tostas aestu terit area fruges

shows both adjective and noun repeated, but they are separated in each verse.¹⁰³

There remain a few special cases of repetition to be discussed. In I. 339-49 the proper name Ceres is repeated in some form four times to emphasize the thought that the religious rites prescribed are all in her honor. In the long narration of weather signs (I. 351-471) there occur *signis* (351), *signo* (354), *signis* (394), *signa dabit* (439), *signa dabit* (463), *signa dabunt* (471), marking the unity of the passage in the diversity of the description. Repetition of end sound gains some such unifying effect in the generalizing summary of the invocation to the gods (I. 19-24); the verses begin with *dique deaeque, quique, quique, tuque*. So with the passage containing the rather unusual future imperative (II. 408-10), the identical heavy ending gives a heightened force to the

¹⁰² Compare I, 48, 267, 305-8, 334, 341-2, 386; II. 42-3, 145-6, 150, 200, 293, 410-11, 444, 495, 514-515, 536; III. 69-70, 189, 193-4, 248-9, 294, 308, 356, 371, 396, 520-1; IV. 187, 306, 311, 411-2.

¹⁰³ Compare I. 281-2 Ossam Ossae; II. 323-4 ver vere; 338 ver ver; III. 280-2 hippomanes; III. 410 canibus.

verbs that balances the emphasis gained for the adjectives by position and repetition:

primus humum fodito, primus devecta cremato
sarmenta, et vallos primus sub tecta referto;
postremus metito.

The repetition of *ambae* in IV. 341-2

Clioque et Beroe soror, Oceanitides ambae,
ambae auro, pictis incinctae pellibus ambae

seems to be purely for euphonic reasons, since there is nothing known about the history of Clio and Beroe that would call for their prominence in the group, nor for the great emphasis upon their sistership and the fact that their ornaments were alike. Love of alliteration must have led the poet in this verse. The next case of repetition (I. 406-9) leads us to the question of rhyming verses, the couplet and the quatrain, and had best be discussed after the simpler cases of rhyme and couplet.

In his study of Propertius Professor B. O. Foster¹⁰⁴ calls attention to the theory of Eichner¹⁰⁵ regarding the fourfold division of the elegiac distich and the use of homoeoteleuton to emphasize the structure. He finds in these poets all the rhyme-schemes possible to a four-line stanza. For Propertius Professor Foster finds some 1130 rhymed verses (28% of the whole) in books I-IV, 529 of which are hexameters, where the rhyme occurs between the penthemimeral caesura and the verse-end. Pentameters are likewise made to rhyme in even more cases, and frequently the words at the caesura rhyme with each other, while the verse-ends do the same; or the word at the second caesura rhymes with the first verse-end, and the word at the first caesura rhymes with the close of the second verse. Professor Foster considers as rhyming the same vowel sounds, or vowel and final consonant

¹⁰⁴ Op. cit., pp. 32-41.

¹⁰⁵ Bemerkungen über den metrischen und rhythmischen Bau, sowie über den Gebrauch der Homoeoteleuta in den Distichen des Catull, Tibull, Propertius und Ovid, Gnesen, 1875.

if the word ends in a consonant, regardless of the initial consonant of the syllable. E. Wölfflin¹⁰⁶ lays down the condition that two rhyming words must have an identity of one letter or one syllable of the stem in addition to the ending and termination. He rejects even two infinitives in *-escere*. In English verse, the end-rhyme is said to involve the principally stressed vowel in the rhyming word and all that follows that vowel.¹⁰⁷ As regards the rhyme between the syllable at the penthemimeral caesura and at the end of the hexameter, the very nature of the verse precludes so strict a condition, for the only possibility is between a stressed and an unstressed syllable. I have, then, followed Professor Foster's greater license.¹⁰⁸

In the *Georgics* Vergil makes but slight use of the rhyming verse or the more elaborate distichs and quatrains. When rhyme between caesura and verse-end is got by means of nouns and attributes in agreement, one is tempted to call it accidental, due to considerations of position in prominent places rather than to sound; but again we may say that it was not looked upon as a blemish, or so sensitive an ear as Vergil's would never have allowed it. Of rhyme between the syllable at the penthemimeral caesura and that at the verse-end there are 139 instances in the whole poem (in Book I, 36; II, 51; III, 31; IV, 21). Most numerous of these are the cases of a noun and attribute in agreement, as

- | | |
|----------|---|
| IV. 41 | et visco Phrygiae servant pice lentius Idae |
| III. 545 | vipera et attoniti squamis astantibus hydri |
| III. 195 | aequora vix summa vestigia ponat harena |
| III. 166 | ac primum laxos tenui de vimine circlos. ¹⁰⁹ |

¹⁰⁶ Der Reim im Lateinischen, Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie, I, pp. 351-2.

¹⁰⁷ R. M. Alden, English Verse, p. 121.

¹⁰⁸ So Wilhelm Grimm understood rhyme in his Geschichte des Reims, Abhandl. der Berl. Akad. d. Wiss. 1851, S. 627ff. So Norden also in Antike Kunstprosa, Anhang I, Die Geschichte des Reims.

¹⁰⁹ Compare I. 15, 59, 78, 90, 96, 111, 116, 125, 155, 162, 170, 207, 218, 230,

Next in frequency is the rhyme between two verbs so placed, as,

- I. 202 remigiis subigit, si braccia forte remisit
 I. 479 (infandum); sistunt amnes terraeque dehiscunt
 II. 408 primus humum fodito, primus devecta cremato
 III. 126 florentesque secant herbas fluviosque ministrant.¹¹⁰

With difference of quantity there is rhyme between nominatives and ablatives singular of the first declension, or ablatives and neuter plurals, and datives or ablatives plural of the first and second declensions give rhyme with nominatives and accusatives plural in *-is* of the third declension, or, again, involving difference of quantity, with nominatives or genitives singular.

- I. 191 at si luxuria foliorum exuberat umbra
 I. 328 ipse pater media nimborum in nocte corusca
 II. 53 nec non et sterilis quae stirpibus exit ab imis

(Compare II. 13, 27, 320; III. 493.)

Nouns or adjectives in parallel construction rhyme, as,

- I. 470 obscenaeque canes importunaeque volucres
 II. 88 Crustumii Syriisque piris gravibusque volaemis
 II. 115 Eoasque domos Arabum pictosque Gelonos . . .

(Compare II. 101, 169, 293, 444; III. 315.)

There are a few examples of words not in agreement nor in parallel construction, as,

- I. 56 gramina. Nonne vides croceos ut Tmolus odores
 I. 246 Aretos Oceani metuentis aequore tingi
 I. 380 angustum formica terens iter, et bibit ingens (at hepthemimeral
 caesura, but noticeable)
 I. 413 inter se in foliis strepitant, iuvat imbris actis
 II. 158 an mare quod supra memorem, quodque adluit infra
 IV. 246 aut durum tiniae genus, aut invisa Minervae
 IV. 461 implerunt montes; flerunt Rhodopeiae arces.

250, 266, 273, 351, 360, 389, 394, 405, 427, 450, 487, 492, 500, 502; II. 31, 40, 54, 66, 77, 96, 106, 118, 124, 139, 142, 158, 163, 164, 171, 183, 189, 197, 199, 206, 215, 225, 237, 258, 261, 298, 313, 364, 385, 415, 419, 425, 445, 465, 466, 522, 537; III. 7, 12, 21, 25, 41, 49, 166, 195, 271, 310, 321, 326, 380, 383, 389, 395, 398, 399, 457, 487, 492, 543, 544, 545; IV. 41, 42, 170, 235, 287, 289, 293, 377, 389, 414, 422, 429, 430, 479, 506, 518, 522, 538, 550.

¹¹⁰ Compare I. 182; II. 422; III. 270, 363, 417.

Of verses rhyming in couplets there are 75, of which 39 have the thought broken more or less markedly before the end of the second verse, as,

- I. 368-9 saepe levem paleam et frondes volitare caducas
 aut summa nantis in aqua concludere plumas,
 449-50 tam multa in tectis crepitans salit horrida grando
 hoc etiam, emenso cum iam decedit Olympo . . .

In the latter case the two verses belong to different sentences.¹¹¹ There are couplets, however, which do express one thought or an integral part of a thought, as,

- I. 436-7 votaue servati solvent in litore nautae
 Glauco et Panopeae et Inoo Melicertae.
 II. 479-80 unde tremor terris, qua vi maria alta tumescant
 obicibus ruptis rursusque in se ipsa residunt
 IV. 504-5 quid faceret? quo se rapta bis coniuge ferret?
 quo fletu Manis, quae numina voce moveret?
 IV. 215-6 ille operum custos, illum admirantur et omnes
 circumstant fremitu denso stipantque frequentes.¹¹²

Of longer rhyming series there are cases of three verses, two rhymed enclosing an unrhymed, as,

- I. 319-21 quae gravidam late segetem ab radicibus imis
 sublimem expulsam eruerent; ita turbine nigro
 ferret hiems culmumque levem stipulasque volantis,

where the rhyme is of the slightest. In I. 419-21

denset erat quae rara modo, et quae densa relaxat,
 vertuntur species animorum, et pectora motus
 nunc alios, alios dum nubila ventus agebat,
 concipiunt . . .

¹¹¹ Compare I. 40-1, 368-9, 344-5, 449-50, 476-7, 500-1; II. 94-5, 168-9, 218-9, 293-4, 398-9, 439-40, 500-1, 506-7; III. 11-12, 68-9, 99-100, 248-9, 384-5, 399-400, 408-9, 488-9, 527-8, 537-8; IV. 9-10, 15-6, 34-5, 134-5, 165-6, 222-3, 230-1, 254-5, 266-7, 275-6, 280-1, 309-10, 484-5, 498-9, 518-9.

¹¹² Compare II. 33-34, 45-6, 91-2, 101-2, 107-8, 129-30, 228-9, 343-4, (hypermetric *-que* added), 360-1, 371-2, 483-4; III. 58-9, 60-1, 68-9, 127-8, 168-9, 187-8, 300-1, 448-9; verses 411-2, 427-8, 505-6, 531-2, show rhyme, but the phrase is incomplete at the end of the second verse; IV. 118-9, 237-8, 292-1, 468-9, 492-3, 545-6. 53-4 is incomplete. Verses 262-3 and 458-9 show difference of quantity.

the thought runs so closely over into 422 that the effect is almost lost.

II. 243-5 shows a better case:

huc ager ille malus dulcesque a fontibus undae
ad plenum calcentur: aqua eluctabitur omnis
scilicet et grandes ibunt per vimina guttae.

(Compare II. 461-3, III. 37-9, 445-7.)

Four verses with every other one rhymed are found, as also two sets of rhymes (*abba*, or *abab*, or *aabb* schemes) and two rhymed verses enclosing two unrhymed ones.

I. 1-4 Quid faciat laetas segetes, quo sidere terram
 vertere, Maecenas, ulmisque adiungere vitis
 conveniat, quae cura boum, qui cultus habendo
 sit pecori, apibus quanta experientia parcis,

show verses two and four rhymed. 14-17 is of the *abba* type:

Neptune; et cultor nemorum, cui pingua Caeae
ter centum nivei tondent dumeta iuveni;
ipse nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lycaei
Pan, ovium custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae.

I. 406-9,

quacumque illa levem fugiens secat aethera pennis,
ecce inimicus atrox magno stridore per auras
insequitur Nisus; qua se fert Nisus ad auras,
illa levem fugiens raptim secat aethera pennis.

is surely to be accounted for by love of repetition (the amount of repetition here is unusual) rather than by desire to secure rhyme. The identity of the rhyming verse-ends destroys the peculiar nature of rhyme. The two preceding verses, which outline the story, are both marked by alliteration and one shows rhyme between *purpureo* and *capillo*. Within the quatrain *quacumque* is repeated in *qua*, *Nisus* twice in the same verse, and the last verse is an exact repetition of the first except for one word. The effect of the repetition here is markedly rhetorical, and while the passage is the most striking quatrain of the poem, its effectiveness is not due to rhyme.¹¹³

¹¹³ These four lines conclude the Ciris. If Vergil was the author of that poem, his use of the verse here is parallel to his quotation of the first verse of the first

We may now note repetition through many verses of end-sounds more or less approaching regularity,¹¹⁴ but the terminations of the Latin language would rather necessitate this, and when the passages are examined the thought phrasing is so frequently found to conflict with any rhyming scheme that the student is forced to the conclusion that Vergil's use of rhyme, as it is now understood, or as it is discernible in Propertius for instance, is of the smallest. Homoeoteleuton within shorter phrases he does use, seen notably in the repetition of the same ending emphasized by the enclitic *-que*, but any division of his hexameters by means of rhyme seems carefully avoided.

Eclogue at the end of the Georgics. If someone else wrote the Ciris, the quotation therein is a compliment to Vergil, or an attempt to mark the poem as his.

For other unconvincing cases of the quatrain compare I. 204-7, the unrhymed verses marked by alliteration, 221-4, 415-8, 505-8; II. 5-8, 10-13, 16-19, 35-8, 49-52, 69-72, 110-13, 177-80, 362-5 incomplete, 388-91 incomplete; III. 323-6; IV. 108-11, 112-15, 329-32, 407-10, 563-6.

¹¹⁴ Compare I. 483-8; II. 408-15; III. 30-6; IV. 363-79.

IV

ANALYSIS OF SPECIAL PASSAGES

A few striking passages have been chosen, the analysis of which shows how the various stylistic means that have been under discussion are interwoven in any one passage for the expression of the thought.

I. 311-34:

Quid tempestates autumni et sidera dicam,
atque, ubi iam breviorque dies et mollior aestas,
quae vigilanda viris? vel cum ruit imbriferum ver,
spicea iam campis cum messis inhorruit et cum
frumenta in viridi stipula lactentia turgent?
saepe ego, cum flavis messorum induceret arvis
agricola et fragili iam stringeret hordea culmo,
omnia ventorum concurrere proelia vidi,
quae gravidam late segetem ab radicibus imis
sublimem expulsam eruerent; ita turbine nigro
ferret hiems culmumque levem stipulasque volantis.
saepe etiam immensum caelo venit agmen aquarum
et foedam glomerant tempestatem imbribus atris
collectae ex alto nubes; ruit arduus aether,
et pluvia ingenti sata laeta boumque labores
diluit; implentur fossae et cava flumina crescunt
cum sonitu fervetque fretis spirantibus aequor.
ipse pater media nimborum in nocte corusca
fulmina molitur dextra: quo maxima motu
terra tremit; fugere ferae et mortalia corda
per gentis humilis stravit pavor: ille flagranti
aut Athon aut Rhodopen aut alta Ceraunia telo
deicit; ingeminant Austri et densissimus imber:
nunc nemora ingenti vento, nunc litora plangunt.

After the pleasures of the winter described in the preceding verses, pleasures that yet, on the lips of an Italian, take on a rather doubtful tone in the words (310)

cum nix alta iacet, glaciem cum flumina trudunt,

the passage opens very quietly with autumn weather, the shortened days, the less oppressive heat; no note of hardship is struck, unless it be in *vigilanda*, in which a certain suggestion of anxiety is usually inherent. But the latter half of the verse brings disaster in a rush in *ruit*, the weighty *imbriferum* and the monosyllable *ver*, an ending unusual enough metrically to give pointed force to the ominous danger that threatens.¹¹⁵ Two lines give the picture of the tasseled grain, the kernels all swollen with their rich milk among the green blades, and then the eye witness of the storm (*vidi*, 318) at the moment of reaping, the stalks ready to break, tells of the onrush of the battle of the winds, which tears the teeming crops from their very roots and tosses them on high. The position of the words in 319-20 is most telling for the effect of the passage. *Gravidam late segetem* presents a broad expanse of heavily laden stalks; then the contrast between *ab radicibus imis* and *sublimem* marks the confusion which reaches its height in the alliterative *expulsam eruerent*. Into the battle of the winds come the auxiliary forces of the rain, one mighty marching line, and the clouds massed aloft

¹¹⁵ A. G. Harkness, *The Final Monosyllable in Latin Prose and Poetry*, A. J. P. 31, pp. 154-74, discusses the relation of the rhythm caused by final monosyllables to the thought. He finds that it yields a different effect in different authors, and concludes that its avoidance in hexameter (and he states a steadily decreasing use of it) is due to the relation of accent and ictus. Conjunctions and words of one syllable directly preceded by another monosyllable are most common. In the *Georgics* there are 22 final monosyllables, 7 cases of *est* in elision with the preceding word, 5 cases of *et* or *nec* with *cum* or *dum*; *si quis*, *quae sint*, *aut hos*, *omniaque in se*, *et vox*, and 5 where the monosyllable is preceded by a longer word, I. 181, 247, 313; II. 321; III. 255. In every one of these there is a definite effect discernible. I. 181 *exiguus mus* calls to mind the *ridiculus mus* of Horace (A. P. 139), with similar comic touch; in 247 *intempesta silet nox* gives a pause to the verse that well prolongs the calm and silent darkness; in II. 321 *cum rapidus Sol* checks the rushing course of the sun before it enters winter's domain; in III. 255 *exacuit sus* gives the same rhythm as the verse under discussion and through *ruit* shows fierce and broken action, not unlike the stormy spring of I. 313; in IV. 71 *et vox*, in the onomatopoeitic line giving the sound of the trumpet, represents likewise harsh and broken sound.

bear weather foul with darkening rain. Down crashes the mighty firmament on high, and with its measureless waters washes away the standing grain in all its luxuriance, the grain for which the oxen have suffered so much labor. The alliteration of *agmen aquarum* and of *arduus aether* gives a certain effect of unity or organization that fits well the military metaphor, and the *sata laeta boumque labores* adds a touch of pathos to the conquest. *Diluit*, with its prominent place in the verse and the pause following it, brings one up blankly against absolute ruin. In the same verse begin the rapid movement and the fretful sounds of the rush of the water,

implentur fossae et cava flumina crescunt
cum sonitu fervetque fretis spirantibus aequor,

the rough *f*'s and hard *c*'s repeating themselves and gathering in the hissing *s*'s of the next verse in a real ebullition of sound. As so often after a passage of sound, so here there comes a flashing picture of the Father himself, the commander of the forces, in the midst of the blackness of night hurling the gleaming bolt. Following this are short disconnected sentences, running from one verse into the next, and breaking a verse with a long pause, to depict the trembling of the earth, the flight, the humbling fear of beast and man—the god above hurling down earth's highest strongholds with burning missile—the doubled groaning of the winds and the driving downpour of the rain, the mourning of the forests and the shores.

In 328 *nocte corusca* shows a placing of words on the principle of contrast to heighten the picture, and in the sentences that follow Vergil's fondness for the short alliterative phrase and the no less musical assonance is plain. Note, for alliteration, *maxima motu, terra tremat, fugere ferae*, and, for assonance, *mortalia corda*. In *ille flagranti aut Athon aut Rhodopen aut alta Ceraunia telo deicit* the adjective beside *ille* covers the presence of the god, too august for the cowering eyes below,

with the pure flame of awe, and the deferring of *telo* to the end of the sonorous line that crowds together earth's strongest bulwarks, a line as mighty in sound as in sense, followed by *deicit*, which begins the next verse, marks the climax of might and the climax of ruin and despair for the mortal hearts below. There only remains to tell the tears and the mourning of nature. The assonant *densissimus imber* has in it from its crowded light vowels and its sharp *s*'s the fierceness and the clatter of the rain, while the repeated nasals of *nunc*, *nemora*, *nunc*, and the less obtrusive but still effective ones in *ingenti*, *vento*, *plangunt* are like a minor note of agony.

The passage as a whole shows excellently Vergil's mastery of his tools. Rhetorical figures there are—metaphors in *lactentia frumenta* and *gravidam segetem*; the more sustained one of the battle of the storm, *concurrere proelia*, followed by the *agmen aquarum*, and later by *ipse pater*, the divine mind behind all this seeming violence and confusion; and the long wail of *plangunt* that ends the passage: anaphora with its consequent balance in *cum messis inhorruit et cum frumenta in viridi stipula lactentia turgent*, in *aut, aut, aut*, strengthened by alliteration with *alta*, and in *nunc* of the last verse: asyndeton where the movement becomes too rapid for connectives, as, *ruit arduus aether, implentur fossae, fugere ferae, ille flagranti, ingeminant austri*. Then euphonic means are seized upon to emphasize, to connect, to give weight, to give movement, and to give sound, amounting to onomatopoeia in lines 326–7 and in *densissimus imber* and the verse that follows it. A noun borrows the reflected force of an adjective that belongs to another word by having a place beside it, as in *immensum caelo*, or in *maxima motu*, or *ille flagranti*, or by separation of noun and attribute (*flagranti . . . telo*) the heaviest verse of the passage is enveloped in flame before the crash, and twice the verb is deferred to open a new verse followed by a pause of absolute powerlessness.

II. 458-74:

O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
 agricolas! quibus ipse procul discordibus armis
 fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus;
 si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
 mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam,
 nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postis
 inlusasque auro vestis Ephyreiaque aera,
 alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana veneno,
 nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi;
 at secura quies et nescia fallere vita,
 dives opum variarum, at latis otia fundis
 (speluncae vivique lacus et frigida Tempe
 mugitusque boum mollesque sub arbore somni)
 non absunt; illic saltus ac lustra ferarum,
 et patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus,
 sacra deum sanctique patres; extrema per illos
 Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.

As a contrast to the more impassioned passage which describes the storm, an analysis of the calmer eulogy of country life must be made to see how Vergil adapts the use of his tools to the effective expression of his thought. Here the passage opens with an exclamation, broken by a clause which marks the higher knowledge of the *vates*, and at the same time offers the occasion for the enumeration of blessings which is to follow. In *quibus ipsa* there are two pronouns side by side in accordance with what Leo calls the tendency of the same parts of speech toward each other,¹¹⁶ which tendency, however, has root within the thought, and here presents the farmers and straightway in contrast the mistress¹¹⁷ who pours out from the ground their living, her character (*iustissima*) and then her identity appearing in the last two words of the verse. From the beginning of this passage to the end of the book there is an unusual amount of contrast, between country

¹¹⁶ Leo, op. cit., p. 432. See above, pp. 37, 47.

¹¹⁷ Compare the frequent use of *ipse*, *ipsa* in this sense, e. g. in Plaut. Cas. 790 *ego eo quo me ipsa misit*; Catull. 3. 7. (see Munro, Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus, p. 105); Cic. N. D. 1. 5. 10 *ipse dixit*.

naturalness and city artificiality, between the philosophic poet and the rustic singer, between the complex life of the statesman and the simple round of the farmer's labors. In verse 461 this contrast is begun and the intricate interweaving of words marks the elaboration, where the adjectives and substantives (denoted by a, a' — b, b' etc.) may be thus represented, a b' c' c b d d' a'. All the adjectives here signify size, while brilliancy of color and beauty find their place in the next verse, and the qualifying attributes grow less striking in *alba lana* and *liquidi olivi*. There is also the use of the localizing epithet in *Ephyreiaque aera* and *Assyrio veneno*, one by its unusualness and the other by its distance giving the desired effect of expensive elegance. The disparaging touch is given in *veneno* (the pure white wool is represented as poisoned by the purple) and in *corrumpitur*, which denotes the effect of the costly eastern perfume¹¹⁸ on the pure smooth-flowing oil.

There has been but little alliteration so far, two pairs in the first verse, a single initial repetition each in the next three, a single echo of three sounds in the next two verses, none in 464, and but one example in 465 and 466. The fine choice and skillful placing of words, combined, of course, with sufficient attention to euphony to avoid the unpleasant, produces the effect in this passage.

To describe the natural delights of country life the word order is most simple; each noun preceded by its adjective, except in *opum variarum*, and the attributes so chosen that, even without their substantives, they yield an atmosphere of peace, truth and plenty, space, freshness and softness about the life. Euphonic devices are still but little used, except in verse 470, where there are the favorite alliterative pairs, and the heavy vowels to give a depth to the content.

Et patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus,

¹¹⁸ It cost 1000 denarii per pound, according to Pliny, N. H. 12. 19. 42 §93.

with its important atmosphere of endurance and restraint established before the noun appears, brings the description to its more sterling excellencies, culminating in *sacra deum sanctique patres*. It is for these virtues that Justice lingered last among them in her flight from earth; *Iustitia* echoes and rounds out the conception in *iustissima tellus*. Plainly the charm of this passage does not rest upon artificiality.

The close of the poem shows a choice and placing of words that has enabled the poet to pack with latent force these eight verses, and a handling of sounds that supports the thought and makes the verses sing themselves again and again in the memory.

IV. 559-66:

Haec super arborum cultu pecorumque canebam
et super arboribus, Caesar dum magnus ad altum
fulminat Euphraten bello victorque volentis
per populos dat iura viamque adfectat Olympo.
illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope studiis florentem ignobilis oti,
carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuventa,
Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi.

There is a verse and a half of plain statement ungarnished by an adjective, with nothing noteworthy in the order, until Vergil strikes the contrast he intends to make between Caesar's great exploits and his own simple pursuits. Then Caesar is great, he flashes with the brilliance of lightning as far as a distant and deep river, whose name itself makes a round mouthful. Without pause follow three words that tell the whole story of his activities in the East, war, conquest and willing subjection, the adjective giving the keynote of the blessedness of Augustus' accomplishments, the fact that men submit and are glad. The story spreads out in *per* and the plural *populos*, but order reigns, and from a broad world in order the conqueror goes on his way to the pinnacle of heavenly bliss in *Olympo*. It would seem impossible to crowd so much

of achievement and exaltation into less than three verses, but every word tells, and seems to tell most just where it is placed, while the very vowels of the words are deep-toned to support the weight and majesty of the thought. From this climax Vergil descends to his own slight sphere, shows it in the full contrast of ignoble ease to great endeavor, but there seems to be a note of pride in this same ease, struck when he puts his own name to the fore, making such haste to avow his lesser rank that one must suspect that he did not feel its lowliness. It is the tone of 'I must confess' to something the speaker is rather proud to own. So is begun the contrast, each man's name standing at the head of his deeds, but Vergil's deeds are not those of majesty, only those of charm, an intangible thing that he must make felt in his words. Thus, next after the identification of time and man, the adjective *dulcis* transports immediately to a different atmosphere, where the figure of the cherishing care of a baby by a nymph of melodious name touches the note of charm inherent in childhood. The child himself blossoms like a flower in his pursuits of peace, content to let glory pass, until trifling with shepherd's songs the youth grows bold and flaunts his own creation at the world in

Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi.

In the second picture, too, there is a studied placing of words to convey the effect of charm, of contrast and of pride that he calls bold, and one might think so were it not for the spreading beech that covers the picture and puts it in its true and charming place. The liquids prevail in

illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope studiis florentem ignobilis oti;

then the deeper assonance of

carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuventa

gives way to the light vowels in the next verse, which corre-

spond to the slight estimation Vergil would put on his achievements. There is the alliterative pair heralded by *arboribus* in 460, and a similar pair echoed by *tegmine* in the last verse, but the euphonic effect in this passage depends much more upon assonance than upon alliteration, and what we have called the peculiarly insistent *e* sound closes the poem.

V

MENTAL PROCESSES

When one passes from the more obvious technicalities of a poet's style to the endeavor to interpret thereby his mental processes and predilections, there is a greater danger of reading into the poet what is in the mind of the student, which discourages categorical statement and forces one to offer a theory rather than to state facts. The figurative terms, however, in which a poet clothes his thought, and the salient features of a description or a situation, by which he brings the whole before his reader's mind, do indicate the individuality of the poet too manifestly to be overcome by the personal bias of the student. Just such an indication of character is inferred for the Roman people as a whole by Oscar Weise¹¹⁹ when he notes the wealth of metaphor from military and country life throughout Latin literature.¹²⁰

In the Georgics the most striking figure is personification, often of an informal sort, that makes vital and vivid things that Vergil is expounding and endeavoring to raise to dignity. *Laetas segetes*, for all that Cicero (De. Orat. III. 38. 135) notes it as a rustic phrase, strikes a note of human joy in the opening verse of the Georgics. So I. 47-8 (*seges*) *bis quae solem bis frigora sensit* attributes sensitiveness to the fields, as 136 *tunc alnos primum fluvii sensere cavatas* does to the rivers. Examples abound throughout the poem,¹²¹ and the personi-

¹¹⁹ O. Weise, *Charakteristik der latein. Spr.*, 3te Auflage, S. 11-15.

¹²⁰ Campbell and Strong in their translation of Weise, p. 14, note that the metaphors in Aeschylus are often taken from wild or tame animals, those of Lucretius from nature, and those of Pindar from public games. Bacon was fond of metaphors taken from medicine or surgery (Minto, *Manual of Prose Lit.*, p. 247f.).

¹²¹ Compare I. 82, 117, 124, 330, 368, 449, 466, 475, 492; II. 57, 75, 82, 98, 240, 426, et saepe.

fiction grows stronger in the third book, where the tone of kinship between man and beast pervades the whole narrative, and culminates in the fourth book in the treatment of the bees as a people, with king and laws and division of labor and joys and passions and sorrows. As a device for arousing the reader's interest and for elevating the subject matter we might class this as a bit of successful rhetoric, but in view of the philosophy of being which later commended itself to Vergil when writing Aeneid VI and that which is set forth in Georgics IV. 221-7

deum namque ire per omnes
 terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum;
 hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
 quemque sibi tenuis nascentem arcessere vitas:
 scilicet huc reddi deinde ac resoluta referri
 omnia, nec morti esse locum, sed viva volare
 sideris in numerum atque alto succedere caelo.

it means more than this and betokens a consciousness in the poet of the unity of creation.¹²²

Of the strikingly Latin figures that Weise notes from country life and military activities there are instances in the Georgics, though the subject matter precludes much metaphorical use of terms from country life. The picture of Proteus and his sea calves is compared to the shepherd on the mountain when his flock comes in at evening and the bleating of the lambs rouses the wolves (IV. 433-5). The verb that denotes the taming or breaking of animals is extended to the

¹²² The philosophy is put here in the mouth of *quidam* (219), as in Aen. VI. 724 ff. it is assigned with more weight to Anchises as one who knows and speaks with authority. Vergil has not seen fit to avow his own acceptance of the doctrine, but his repetition of it in the Aeneid is usually taken as indicative of his creed, and, on the other hand, it need not contradict the passage I. 415 ff. which is usually interpreted as Epicurean and materialistic. *Species animorum* can hardly be made to yield "the phases of their life," as Conington translates it, but declares in *animorum* the spiritual side of the bird nature, and puts this in agreement with the phases of what we call weather and what Vergil calls the divine Jupiter. He claims for the birds no unusual prophetic powers, but a share in the spiritual communion between nature animate and inanimate.

elm that is broken from its wild state on the mountain to serve as a plough (I. 169-70). Similarly all the trees must be tamed, II. 61 *cogendae in sulcum ac multa mercede domandae*. In IV. 136 winter bridles the rivers with ice, *glacie cursus frenaret aquarum*.

Contest appears in terms of war; in the sustained military metaphor of the storm scene analyzed in the preceding chapter (I. 318 ff.: see above, pp. 69-72); where the husbandman gives his orders to the fields (*imperat arvis* I. 99) as a general to his force; where labor conquers everything (*labor omnia vicit*, I. 145); in the fire that conquers and rules through the tree tops (*victor perque alta cacumina regnat* II. 307); where the vine receives commands as did the field earlier (*dura exerce imperia*, II. 370); where the bull returns to battle with his rival (*signa movet*, III. 236); and even where there is no conflict, a flock of ravens is *corvorum exercitus* (II. 382). The tree is too tall for an arrow in flight to o'ertop it (I. 123); the vines are to be planted in rows like an army drawn up on an open field (II. 277 ff.); the African herdsman carries with him all his baggage as did the Roman soldier on the march¹²³ (III. 347); the poet must conquer his unpoetic theme by his words (III. 289). Nature's contest is over with the regions of the earth and she has imposed treaties and fixed laws (I. 60-1 *has leges aeternaque foedera certis imposuit natura locis*); and as the result of man's warfare on barren ground the birds find themselves dispossessed of their ancient homesteads (II. 209), a sympathetic touch from a man who shared the same fate.

The figure of the master rather than the victor gives *dominantur avenae* (I. 154), while the other side of the picture is seen in *serviat ultima Thule* (I. 30). Belonging to home life, as do these two metaphors, are the house and barn of the

¹²³ Here, carrying the description farther than the comparison warrants, the poet makes the soldiers form in line to meet a sudden foe.

mouse and the chambers of the mole (I. 181-3); *tenera lanae vellera* of the clouds (I. 397); *coquat aestas* (I. 66) of the sun drying the fresh clods of earth; *excoquitur vitium atque exsudat inutilis umor* (I. 88) of the effect of burning a field, like purification by boiling. *Vestibulum* of the space before the bees' hive (IV. 20), *cunabula* of the cells (IV. 66), the drone sitting at another man's table (IV. 244 *sedens aliena ad pabula*) and the funerals of the bees (*exportant tectis et tristia funera ducunt*, IV. 256) are of the same kind.

The idea of motherhood is frequently used, of the crops themselves in the storm scene (I. 315 ff.); of the older tree from which the laurel shoots come (*parva sub ingenti matris se subicit umbra*, II. 19), and again in II. 55 *nunc altae frondes et rami matris opacant*; of the new field which the transplanted seeds must recognize as their mother (*mutatam ignorent subito ne semina matrem*, II. 268); and in the figure borrowed from Lucretius (I. 259) of *pater Aether, terra coniunx* (II. 324-30).

The poet's own activity is referred to under the terms of the games or of a voyage. The deified Caesar is to be gracious and grant him a smooth course (I. 40 *da facilem cursum*), and Maecenas is called on to spread sails for the open sea and go with the poet the way of the second book (II. 41 *Maecenas, pelagoque volans da vela patenti*). At the opening of the third book Vergil is at once poet, priest and victor, for he sings and serves the temple and receives the homage of Greece, forsaking her own games to acknowledge him the victor (III. 10 ff.).¹²⁴ At the end of the second book the poet has covered the course and is ready to free the steaming necks of his steeds (II. 441-2) (Compare II. 364). Later he would like to talk of gardens were he not drawing his sails and hastening to turn his prow to land (IV. 117 *ni . . . vela traham et terris festinem advertere proram*).

¹²⁴ The spirit of war spreads over the earth with the speed of a chariot on a race course (I. 512-4).

A like simile tells how fleeting are the things of life, which slip back as does one who rows against a stream and for a moment relaxes his effort (I. 201-2 *non aliter quam qui adverso vix flumine lembum remigiis subigit, si bracchia forte remisit*). Again, winter makes the farmer as free from care as the sailors who bring to port a ship hard pressed by storm and deck its prow in thanksgiving (I. 303-4):

ceu pressae cum iam portum tetigere carinae
puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas.

The bees balance themselves with a pebble as a boat in a tossing sea takes ballast (IV. 195 *ut cumbae instabiles fluctu iactante saburram | tollunt*).

Often the figure comes from nature, as when the race horse goes as the north wind sweeping things before it (III. 196-201), and the bull returning to fight is like an overwhelming wave that strikes the shore and raises the sand (III. 237-41). Disease among cattle spreads faster than the whirlwind that brings the storm at sea (III. 470), and the creatures of the sea lie dead on the shore like shipwrecked bodies (III. 542). The bees are as thick as hail in the air, or acorns from the oak (IV. 80-1), and their attack is called a hard storm (*duram hiemem*, IV. 239). The buzzing of the bees is like the cold wind that murmurs in the forest, or like the noise of the sea when the waves roll back, or like a fire roaring shut in a furnace (IV. 261-3). The new bees come from the body of the bullock as rain from summer clouds, or (here comes the touch from war) as the arrows of the Parthians (IV. 312-14). In Orcus the shades gather around Orpheus as do the birds seeking refuge at evening or from a winter rain¹²⁵ (IV. 474); Orpheus mourns for Eurydice as the nightingale for her lost young (IV. 511). The bees are now a cloud, and now a cluster that hangs from a bough (IV. 60, 557, 558 *obscuramque nubem—immensas nubes—lentis uvam remittere ramis*). Multitude is

¹²⁵ Compare *Aen.* VI. 309-12.

expressed by the sands tossed by Zephyrus, or the waves of the Ionian sea when Eurys stirs it (II. 105-8).

There are a few images that suggest the public life at Rome, as when the lasting wines are represented as rising to yield place to the wine from Aminnea (II. 98), much as the younger men in the senate might do to an older and worthier senator.¹²⁶ So the white bulls beside Clitumnus bring to Vergil's mind the picture of the triumphal procession which they may lead to the temples of the gods (II. 148), and the theatre is to contribute to the festivities following the poet's victory (III. 25 *intexti tollant aulaea Britanni*). As noted before, the activities of the bees are pictured as those of a city state, and metaphors from city life must enter there, but otherwise they are few. The very phases of that life that yielded so many common metaphors in Latin, those pointed out by Weise as of judicial and administrative origin, were the things that Vergil congratulated the farmer on missing (II. 501-12). He would not thrust such thoughts before his contented country folk, nor had they taken great hold upon his own mind. It is the misery that one must see and can not remedy, the courts, the forum, the soul-killing record-keeping as well as the wearying ceremony of life, the press of state and greed of gold and power that Vergil would be free from when he leaves the city and answers the enticing call of the country.¹²⁷ These are the things that he puts from his mind and from his speech.

Belonging to none of these categories is the comparison of the labor among the bees to that of the Cyclopes beneath Aetna (IV. 170 ff.), and the queer description of the bee as

¹²⁶ Compare Tyrtaeus, Fr. 10—Hiller-Crusius,

πάντες δ' ἐν θώκοισιν ὁμῶς νέοι οἱ τε κατ' αὐτόν
εἰκονσιν χάρης οἱ τε παλαιότεροι

and Eclogue VI. 68.

¹²⁷ Compare Juvenal's charges against Rome in the third satire, where it is the noise, discomfort, lack of opportunity for the Roman because of the lying and all-absorbing Greek that would drive one to the country in very disgust.

dingy as the dirt covered traveller who is parched and choked with dust (IV. 96). More bookish is the likening of bleeding cattle during the plague to the practice of the Bisaltae, and the Geloni, who go off to the desert and mountains and draw blood from the horses's feet that they may mix it with milk and drink it (III. 461-3).

From war, then, the home, nature, the games of Greece, the sea, and, to but slight extent, from city life comes Vergil's figurative language in the Georgics, indicating the strength of the impression these had made upon him, and the fondness of his mind to dwell on them.

No less indicative are the salient features by which he describes a scene, or the little touches by which he reveals his own associations with an object. The aster, whose root is to be boiled in wine and put as food for the bees, is described minutely, and the poet's association with it is marked by its frequent use to adorn the altars (IV. 276 *saepe deum nexis ornatae torquibus arae*). The heavy heat that lies on the burning rocks (II. 377) is a vivid characterization of summer that speaks of direct contact,

aut gravis incumbens scopulis arentibus aestas.¹²⁸

So the planting time for vines is when the white bird comes, the foe to the long serpents (II. 320). How was the worshipper's attention wandering when at the libation to Bacchus he noted the fat Tyrrhenian puffing into his ivory mouthpiece (II. 193)?¹²⁹ There is a whimsical touch in the picture of the bees drying themselves on the bridge after a tumble into the water (IV. 27 ff.), as, later, in the pinch of dust scattering their great hosts (IV. 87).¹³⁰ The thrifty housekeeping of

¹²⁸ Note the different touch for the pleasanter heat of autumn, in II. 522, *mitis in apricis coquitur vindemia saxis*.

¹²⁹ Compare Cat., 39. 11 *obesus Etruscus*.

¹³⁰ Professor Shorey in a comment on Horace, Odes I. 28. 3 notes this verse of the Georgics 'in exquisite symbolism' as a parallel to the three handfuls of dust the restless spirit of the unburied sailor begs, but the bees are not dead, only restored to their own or a new hive.

the mouse and the mole has the same quality (I. 181-3) and so has the figure of the cucumber growing to its comfortable middle-age (IV. 122 *tortusque per herbam cresceret in ventrem cucumis*). Such phrases as these are as near as the poet gets to the humorous, but the pathetic is never very far from the surface. It is felt in the note of hardship in man's life, the repetition of labor, the characterization of the race as *durum genus* (I. 63) and the very want that makes him master everything, I. 145-6: *labor omnia vicit | improbus et duris urgens in rebus egestas*. If he is not constant in his efforts, he must look on in vain at another's plenty and solace his own hunger with the acorns of the forest (I. 158-9). There lurks disappointment in the very nature of things. Picked seeds degenerate and go back to their poor state (I. 198); compare I. 200 *Sic omnia fatis | in peius ruere ac retro sublapsa referri*. The birds routed from their nests in the fields by the farmers (II. 209-10), the fields themselves unkempt and pathetic with their tillers gone (I. 507), the fruitless oleaster with its bitter leaves, all that is left of the orchard and vineyard that have been burned (II. 314), touch the same note. The defeated bull who must leave his dominion (III. 228 *et stabula aspectans regnis excessit avitis*), the ox grieving for his brother's death (III. 518, *maerentem abiungens fraterna morte iuvenum*), the pitiful huddled mass of creatures covered with snow and dying, III. 368-70

intereunt pecudes, stant circumfusa pruinis
corpora magna boum, confertoque agmine cervi
torpent mole nova et summis vix cornibus exstant,

had all touched his heart. The figure of Aristaeus himself is pathetic as he comes to reproach his mother for his fallen state, but the most exquisite pathos of the poem is in the Orpheus-Eurydice myth, reaching its climax in IV. 498

invalidasque tibi tendens, heu non tua, palmas.

The part that sound played in Vergil's imagery is striking

in the Georgics. It seems to have been to him what light and flash and speed were to Pindar. Professor Gildersleeve says of Pindar,¹³¹ "He drains dry the Greek vocabulary of words for light and bright, shine and shimmer, glitter and glister, ray and radiance, flame and flare and flash, gleam and glow, burn and blaze. The first Olympian begins with wealth and strength, the flaming fire of gold,¹³² and the shining star of the sun. The fame of Hieron is resplendent, and the shoulder of Pelops gleams. No light like the light of the eye, thought the Greek, and the ancestors of Theron were the eye of Sicily, and Adrastus longs for the missing eye of his army. So the mid-month moon in her golden chariot flashed full the eye of evening into the face of Heracles."

There is gleam and flash in the Georgics and color too, green and white and gold and red and purple. How could there be an Italian landscape without it? The visual type of imagery is commonest, and even in persons of the so-called mixed type it is apt to play quite a part,¹³³ but the auditory imagery, to the degree it is seen in the Georgics, indicates an unusual sensitiveness to sound, which made that often the means of the poet's own memory and his means of presenting that memory to others.

Most frequently mentioned is some sound in connection with water (9 times in the poem), the hoarse murmuring of water as it falls over rocks (I. 109, *illa cadens raucum per levia murmur | saxa ciet*), the surging of rain swollen torrents (I. 326-7 *implentur fossae et cava flumina crescunt | cum sonitu fervetque fretis spirantibus aequor*), the rising of the waters in Lake Benacus (II. 160 *fluctibus et fremitu adsurgens Benace marino*), the roar of the sea as it beats against the mole and is dashed back (II. 162-3 *atque indignatum magnis stridoribus*

¹³¹ Gildersleeve, *Olympian and Pythian Odes*, *Intro.*, p. xxxvi.

¹³² Gold strikes one everywhere in all the odes.

¹³³ E. B. Titchener, *Experimental Psychology*, *Qualitative Instructor's Manual*, pp. 387-93.

In addition to wind and water and woods, there is the whispering patch of lupin (I. 75-6 *tristisque lupini | sustuleris fragilis calamos silvamque sonantem*), the patter of hail on the roof (I. 449 *tam multa in tectis crepitans salit horrida grando*), the crackling sound of fire (II. 306 (*ignis*) *ingentem caelo sonitum dedit*, IV. 409 (*Proteus*) *aut acrem flammae sonitum dabit*, IV. 263 *ut clausis rapidus fornacibus ignis*), the whispering west wind (III. 322 *at vero Zephyris cum laeta vocantibus aestas*), an echo from the rocks (IV. 49-50 *aut ubi concava pulsu | saxa sonant vocisque offensa resultat imago*).

One might expect the mention of birds to bring the sound image, but it is not only their cries and songs, but the noise of their wings as well that has caught Vergil's ear. He mentions the cry of the ravens (I. 382, 413, 423), the crow (I. 388), the owl (I. 402), song of birds in spring (II. 328) and at evening (III. 338), the chattering of the swallow (IV. 307), and the lament of the nightingale (IV. 510-15). But at I. 407, *ecce inimicus atrox magno stridore per auras*, Vergil has in mind the noise of the hawk's wings, and at I. 361-2, *cum medio celeres revolant ex aequore mergi | clamoremque ferunt ad litora*, the gulls' wings or possibly their cry. Then there is the querulous note of the cicada, III. 328, *et cantu querulae rumpunt arbusta cicadae*, the cry of the frog, I. 378 *et veterem in limo ranae cecinere querellam*, who even when he is but food for the serpent is *loquax* (III. 431). The cries of the wolves echo in the city, I. 486 *per noctem resonare lupis ululantibus urbes*. The lowing of oxen betokens now contentment for the farmer (II. 470), now pain when stung by the gadfly (III. 150), now their last agony in the description of the plague (III. 554-5). In their fight the bulls bellow until the forests and the sky resound (III. 223), the defeated bull goes off with a low moaning over his disgrace (III. 226), and there is the same low tone of grief when one ox sees the other dead at his side under the yoke (III. 517-18).

The serpents are known by their hiss (III. 421), and the bees by their buzzing (IV. 79, 188, 216, 260, 310), which becomes a battle shout in IV. 76 *miscentur magnisque vocant clamoribus hostem*.

It is noise, not sights, that frightens Vergil's horse (III. 79 *vanos horret strepitus*), and when he travels there is a good solid sound from his solid hoof (III. 88 *et solido graviter sonat ungula cornu*), and it is by sound that his course in the ring is marked (III. 191 *incipiat gradibusque sonare | compositis*). Despite the fact that Saturn is fleeing from Rhea on Mount Pelion, because he becomes a horse, Vergil makes him neigh (III. 94). The first characteristic of the gadfly is *acerba sonans* (III. 149). The lambs begin bleating at evening and arouse the wolves (IV. 435).

There is the sound of arms (I. 474) that Germany hears at Caesar's death, and the sound of arms that sets the war-horse aquiver with eagerness (III. 83). The blast of the trumpet men did not have to hear in the Golden Age (II. 539), but the war-horse must learn to endure it now (III. 183), and even the bees have learned to give a trumpet sound in time of war (IV. 71-2). The noise of the forging of swords was once unknown (II. 540), but the poet knows the pounding and clashing of a forge beneath Aetna's groaning (IV. 173), and the sound of hot metal dipped in water (IV. 172). The bees are to be attracted by the sound of cymbals (IV. 64), as once they were drawn to Dicte by the chants and drums of the Curetes (IV. 151). The beechen axle clatters behind the well-broken oxen (III. 173), and, when after the plague the men themselves must take the oxen's place, the wains creak on their way (III. 536). The horse must learn to love the rattle of bits in the stable (III. 184), his master's words of praise, and, queerest auditory image of them all, the sound of the pat upon his neck (III. 185-6).

The description of the farmer's winter evening includes

sounds of the housewife's song and the whirr of the shuttle (I. 293-4). With songs and shouts do the rustics call Ceres to their homes (I. 346-50), the Italian spring festival is full of laughter and song (II. 386). The man who has finished planting his rows comes in singing over it (II. 417 *canit effectos extremus vinitor antes*), and the old Corycian comes in grumbling against the late spring (IV. 138). There is a strange presaging voice at Caesar's death (I. 476), and the flocks talk (I. 478); it is the sound of Aristaeus' grief that strikes the ear of his mother (IV. 350) among the nymphs to whom Clymene has been telling the story of Mars and Venus. Proteus is angry and gnashes his teeth at Aristaeus (IV. 452). The Dryad chorus shows its grief at Eurydice's death by wails that fill the mountains (IV. 460), and Orpheus seeks his solace from his lyre (IV. 464). Three times is the clash of Avernus heard as it closes on Eurydice crying aloud to him (IV. 493). Then there is Orpheus' song among the deserted hills and the voice of his complaining (IV. 510-20), his cry of 'Eurydice' and its echo. Of course the whole story is necessarily full of music. Perhaps that was one of its charms to Vergil. It seems significant that in the last verses of the poem Augustus flashes his glory (*fulminat*, 561), while Vergil sang (*cecini*, 566).¹³⁴

The rather subtle handling of euphonic devices noted in the third chapter, and the large part that sound plays in Vergil's imagery and in his memory of scenes betoken a keen sensitiveness to this means of perception. The appeal of sound to him is, so to speak, an outward and visible sign of

¹³⁴ For a study of Vergil's association of ideas in the "sound series" see Roiron, *Étude sur l'imagination auditive de Virgile*. He deduces some eight results (pp. 631-3) showing among others that sound in Vergil is not an abstract idea, but a sense perception objective and vigorous, is associated with the cause that has produced it or the action which it ends; the intensity of the sound is its most characteristic feature, and certain associations of sound are frequent enough to be called characteristic of Vergil.

the inward and spiritual harmony that shows itself in the whiteness of his soul (Hor., Sat., I. 5. 41, Donat. Vit. ch. 11), in the smooth and even structure of his sentences,¹³⁵ in the elusive melody of his verse, in the *suavitas et lenocinium mirum* of his own reading voice (Donat. Vit. ch. 28), and, despite his Roman characteristics and his patriotism, in his greater love for peace and beauty than for contest, even with victory. It is this harmony that keeps him from being carried away by Roman sturdiness or Greek fancy or Alexandrian artificiality. All the devices of the poets and the rhetoricians that have preceded him he knows, but he is slave to none. There has been much talk throughout this study of his use, but not abuse, of his tools. It is the characteristic that strikes one everywhere in the poem, the much valued restraint of Roman character, but in Vergil's case a restraint that seems inborn rather than acquired. One feels that his is not so much the *ars artem celandi* as the ideal mingling that Lucretius ordains for his atoms:

emineat ne quid quod contra pugnet et obstet
quominus esse queat proprie quodcumque creatur.

¹³⁵ See The Sentence Structure of Vergil, A. R. Crittenden, where by contrast with Lucretius, Ennius and others Vergil's tendency to the associative rather than the apperceptive type of sentence and to descending rather than ascending structure is treated. Compare the placing of words by the principle of likeness rather than contrast noted above (p. 45).

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¹³⁶ This list does not claim to be a complete bibliography. It includes simply the volumes that have been quoted or referred to in this dissertation.

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